

THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI  
VOLUME LXXVIII

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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## PREFACE

Section I of this volume offers fragments from three Christian texts. **5128** combines biblical excerpts within a larger text, perhaps a hymn. **5129** represents the first text of Justin Martyr to appear among the papyri. **5127** is a miniature parchment copy of Psalm CIX, a favourite text for armlets.

Section II has fragments of two lost classical works. **5130**, an excerpt from Alcidiadas, the once famous sophist and rival of Isocrates, proves that he wrote, or was thought to have written, a paradoxical 'Praise of Poverty'. **5131** provides a central scene of Greek Tragedy, with a corpse borne onto the stage in the presence of Athamas; perhaps Euripides, *Ino*, possibly the corpse of Athamas' son Learchus, whom his own father had killed.

In section III, **5132** (from the same roll as **3810** and **4935**) adds an early witness to the tradition of Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*. There follow three groups of known prose texts. **5133-5147**, from speeches of Isocrates, exemplify various dates, formats and levels of production: textually, they show no tendency to side with one or other family of medieval MSS, so confirming the fluidity of the tradition at this early stage. (This part was made available to editors of the Isocrates OCT in advance of publication.) **5148-5152** contain fragments of speeches of the Demosthenic corpus rarely represented in papyri: note the final stichometric total in **5151**, and the quite unusual textual interest of **5148** and **5150**, both of relatively early date. **5153-5158** contain works from Plutarch's *Moralia*. These too add new readings and confirm old conjectures; and three of them have been dated to the second century, a further indication that works of Plutarch circulated at Oxyrhynchus within a generation of their author's death.

Section IV provides utilitarian literature. **5159** is a rare example of a metrical handbook. **5160** presents a commentary, learned and detailed notes on an Old Comedy, perhaps Eupolis, *Goetz*. **5161-5163** belong to another uncommon type, glossaries for Greek-speakers learning Latin. This might be expected under the Tetrarchy and later (**5161**), much less expected in the first/second century AD (**5162-5163**, where the Latin is transliterated into Greek script).

Section V collects documentary texts of various types. **5164-5172** date from the earliest years of Roman rule in Egypt, when the new régime set out to increase revenue: for taxation see **5167** and **5172** (pig- and dike-tax), **5166** (slave-sales tax); for public sales of unproductive land see **5171**, where the Prefect excludes officials from such purchases (providing, that is, against insider trading). From the second century come letters sent to officials: **5178** raises questions about the lading of corn-transports at low Nile and on the Sabbath; **5179** shows that the internal customs had a post also at Protermais Hormou. Other items touch everyday crises. So **5168** employs a wet nurse for a foundling from the dung-hill; **5169** shows an under-age girl working as a servant, against a loan made to her father and brothers; and in **5182** Ceanthosis complains to Ptolemais (on the back of the Glossary **5161**) that his father and the local governor's guards had appeared at her door and exacted tax-money from her 'with insults'.

Most items in section V have benefited from the comments and criticism of Professor Thomas. The industry and scholarship of Dr R.-L. Chang, Dr D. Colomo, and Dr W. B. Henry have been invaluable at every stage of the preparation of this volume. Dr Henry further read the penultimate version of all editions, compiled the indexes, and coordinated the correction of the proofs. The plates were produced from digital images created by Dr Chang.

Once again, we are grateful to Dr Jeffrey Dean for his deft copy-editing and typesetting, and to The Charlesworth Group for efficient production; and we remain in the debt of the Arts and Humanities Research Council and the British Academy for their very generous support.

October 2012

P. J. PARSONS / N. GONIS

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MJA = M. J. Anderson	AB = A. Benaisa	JHB = J. H. Bruuselas	LC = L. Capponi
RLC = R.-L. Chang	DC = D. Colombo	NG = N. Gonis	WBH = W. B. Henry
NK = N. Karapanagioti	WL = W. Luppe	MM = M. Machler	MMa = M. Malouta

## TABLE OF PAPYRI

FM = F. Malmomini	ZsÖ = Zs. Ötöcs	PJP = P. J. Parsons	PMP = P. M. Pinto
MDR = M. D. Reeve	SRC = S. Rishaj Christensen	PhS = Ph. Schmitz	ST = S. Trejahn
MV = M. Viciros			

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## NUMBERS AND PLATES

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## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation; see *CE* 7 (1932) 262–9. It may be summarized as follows:

αβγ	The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read
...	Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor
[αβγ]	The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture
[...]	Approximately three letters are lost
{ }	Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol, e.g. (ἀρράβη) represents the symbol Ϝ, κρρ(αργηόε) represents the abbreviation κρρ
[[αβγ]]	The letters are deleted in the papyrus
αβγ/	The letters are added above the line
<αβγ>	The letters are added by the editor
{αβγ}	The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor

Bold arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in J. F. Oates et al., *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca* (BASP Suppl. no. 9, 2001); for a more up-to-date version of the *Checklist*, see <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>.

## I. THEOLOGICAL TEXTS

### 5127. LXX, PSALM XC 4–13 (AMULET)

95/74(a)

8.6 × 3.8 cm

Late fifth century

A small sheet of parchment forming two consecutive leaves which give the central portion of Psalm xc. When the sheet is open, the flesh side is uppermost. The page dimensions (4.3 × 3.8 cm) correspond to the smaller examples in Turner's group of 'miniature' parchment codices (*Typology* 29–30). The wild orthography, the small quantity of text per page, and the absence of stitching suggest that the sheet did not belong to a codex containing a Psalter: the original document probably consisted of only two sheets, **5127** and another, now lost, the latter providing the first leaf (with the beginning of the Psalm, 1–4: ἐν τοῖς) and the fourth leaf (with its end, from 13<sup>ς</sup>) of the quire. The ratio of the space available to the number of letters is not incompatible with this reconstruction: the missing opening of the Psalm, not counting the heading, contains 186 letters in Rahlfs's edition, the final missing portion 213 letters, while the first and second leaves of **5127** contain about 234 (the uncertainty depends on the corrupt illegible text in 10–11) and 261 letters respectively. It would not be surprising if the original first page contained less text than the others.

The first three pages have ten lines each, the fourth page eleven. The number of letters per line is markedly variable (between 9 and 15). The majuscule writing, sloping slightly to the right, roughly bilinear, is clumsy and irregular, with inconsistency in letter shapes (α generally with rounded loop, often open at the top, but also in three strokes; η generally h-shaped, but also with crossbar ascending and linked to the top of the second vertical; v-shaped γ alternating with y-shaped; central stroke of η both oblique and curved). It can be dated to the late fifth century: compare PSI inv. 535 (Cavallo–Maehler, *GBEBP* 19c). The verses are written continuously, without division, and punctuation and other lectional signs are lacking. There are many spelling mistakes, and the rules of word division are not observed. In fol. 1(a) the text is often extremely difficult to read, as the ink is faded and the surface damaged in many places.

Psalm xc, due to its content, was the Psalm most frequently used in protective amulets (for full information, see J. Chapa, in G. Bastianini and A. Casanova (edd.), *I papiri letterari cristiani* (2011) 59–90). **5127** is no doubt an example of that use, since, in addition to the medial fold, there are three further vertical folds running down both leaves: the sheet was evidently folded to form a small packet (c.1.1 × 3.8 cm), to be carried or fastened on the person, possibly inserted in a tubular capsule. Once the text had been written, cuts were made at mid-height through the central

fold and through the innermost and the outermost of the three folds running down both leaves, so that five rhomboidal holes are visible when the sheet is opened, of which the outer four form two pairs, the outer pair smaller than the inner (similar cuts in VIII 1077 = PGM P4; Christian amulet, parchment, vi; cf. also P. Bingen 19). The cuts have resulted in the loss of some letters. The sheet was trimmed at top and bottom with a similar disregard for the text, causing the loss of the upper part of the first line and the lower part of the last line on each page. Such miniature 'codex amulets' are well known: cf. XVII 2065 (parchment, page 2.85 × 4 cm, Psalm xc 5<sup>o</sup>-10<sup>o</sup>, v or vi), P. Ant. II 54 (papyrus, page 2.6 × 4 cm, Pater Noster, iii), and the other references given in the introduction to P. Leid. Inst. 10; add MPER XVII 10 and, possibly, 1 (see M. J. Kruger, *JTS* 53 (2002) 81-94). See in general T. S. de Bruyn and J. H. F. Dijkstra, 'Greek Amulets and Formularies from Egypt Containing Christian Elements', *BASP* 48 (2011) 163-216.

The text of 5127 is highly corrupt: v. 8 of the Psalm is displaced, and v. 9 and part of v. 10 are omitted (see 22-8 n.); the expected text does not appear at 10-11; see also 1, 5, 6-7, 17, 28 nn. Two known variants are conflated at 12-15. There appears to be a unique reading at 18. Some errors shared with the contemporary XVI 1928 may be of interest: 24-5 οφθαλμοις (ςου), 33-4 οδαις σου (1928 οδε σου), 37-8 ποδων (also P. Ryl. I 3), 38-9 επι ασιζα.

Collated against A. Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis* (1979). In the notes, Rahlfs's sigla are employed for mediaeval manuscripts, but the usual abbreviations for papyri.

Fol. 1(a) (hair)	Fol. 1(b) (flesh)	
μπτ[αφρη]τ[οις αυτου]	(4)	[.]. [.]. [.]. [.]. [.]...
επτ[οικια]ει[ς] οτι και		ραγματος εν
υπο τας π[ερυν]αξ		σκοτι διαπο-
αυτου [ελπιει]ς οπ-		ενομενον εν
λω κηκλωει[ς] ει[ς] η αλ[η-]	13	κ[ο]τι απο [ς]ιμη-
θια αυτο[υ] ου[] φοβ-	5	η[τω]ματ[ο]ς[ι] και
..... [απ]ο φο-		δα[ς]μουσιου
βου νυκτεριμου		περιται δε εκ
απο βελου[ι]ς πετρο-		του ε[λι]τουσ σου
ου ημερε[ς]. [.]. [.]...	20	χλιτας και[ι] μ. . .

Fol. 2(a) (flesh)	Fol. 2(b) (hair)	
ριας [εκ δεξιων]		[ρι σου του] δ . .
σου προς σε δε κατα	10	αφαιλαξ ει
και μαστιξ ουκ ε-		ε πασις ταισ οδ-
γει πλην της οφθ-	8	αις σου επι χειρων
αλμ[ο]ις ου κατα-]	35	αρουσις σε μηπο-

νοη[ς] εις και ανα-		τε προσκομ[ι]τ[ης] πρ-
ποδων αμαρτω-		ος λιθων των πο-
λω οδων οτι της	11	δων ου επι α-
αγγελος αυτου		πιζα και βασι-
30 εντελειται [π]ε-		λικκος επιβυ
		[ςη και καταπ]ατ-

<sup>1</sup> μετ[αφρη]τ[οις αυτου]. The reading is difficult, but ε is highly probable and τ possible. The transmitted text, as printed, appears about two or three letters too long for the available space, but this may be explained by miswritings, so numerous in our document. Note however that αυτου is omitted by LXXIII 4931.

<sup>2</sup> επτ[οικια]ς: a guess based on the expected text rather than a reading.  
<sup>3</sup> ου: so most of the witnesses; cf P. Oslo inv. 1044 (SD 24 (1945) 141-7); P. Laur. IV 141, P. Duke inv. 778 (BASP 41 (2004) 93-119). The reading is quite uncertain.

<sup>4</sup> ου: with all MSS except 55 and P. Bodm. XXIV, which has εν.

<sup>5</sup> The reading of the faint traces between ω and the internal lacuna is far from certain, and the distribution of the individual letters insecure. In any case spacing seems insufficient for the expected text, as printed above: possibly an isotactic spelling of κωλοισις was used, as in P. Laur. 141 and P. Duke inv. 778; more likely a major accident occurred.

<sup>6</sup> 5-6 I. αληθεια.

<sup>7</sup> 6-7 φβθ . . . . . [απ]ο. The traces are too faint to read, but spacing requires more than the φβθηση of most MSS (Rahlfs's text). 5127 may have agreed with one of the witnesses that have here a longer text; ου φβθηση και απο φβθου S Sa, P. Laur. 141; ου φβθηθησται α. φ. P. Bodm. XXIV; ου φ[ο]βηθησται α. φ. P. Duke inv. 778; ου φβθησται (l. -ς) ου ('possibly meant for ου ου τ' ed. Br.) α. φ. 1928.

<sup>8</sup> νυκτεριμου: only tiny faded traces of ink remain from the first seven letters. There is a space between ν and ου.

<sup>9</sup> S Sa and P. Duke inv. 778 have και before απο.

<sup>9-10</sup> πετρο[υ] (l. περο[μ]η)η[ι]ου ημερε[ς]. The reading is very difficult. No variants are attested; however, the space after ηε accommodates only three letters; then the parchment breaks, but just at the point where the right-hand margin should fall (so that περομ[ε]ω[ν] would be too long, even if μ were a plausible interpretation of the trace).

<sup>10-12</sup> After ημερε[ς] all MSS have απο πραγματος. 5127 has ραγματος at the beginning of 12, but the traces at the end of 11 do not suit απο π: see n. Apparently the second half of 10 and the whole of 11 contained an extraneous text (as a dislocation as in 22-8?), but since the traces are largely illegible, it cannot be determined what it was.

<sup>11</sup> The traces are extremely confusing and their distribution uncertain. After the last internal lacuna: a vertical with smudged ink; possibly a triangular letter (delta?); perhaps a vertical followed by a possible short cross-stroke.

<sup>12-15</sup> εν σκοτι (l. -ε) διαπορευομενον | εν εκ[ο]τι (l. -ει). 5127 appears to conflate the two readings between which MSS are divided: εν σκοτι διαπορευομενον (the word order of the Masoretic Text) L' 1219, 1928, 2065, P. Ryl. I 3, P. Laur. 141, P. Bodm. XXIV and διαπορευομενον εν σκοτι B' R' Ga A', P. Gen. 6, BKT VIII 12, BKT VIII 13, P. Vindob. G 348 (Vig. Chn. 37 (1903) 42), P. Duke inv. 778; as for 4931, see n. Does the error derive from collating two exemplars?

<sup>13</sup> There is ink above the ο of σκοτι. If not accidental, perhaps, as Dr Coles suggests, an attempt to insert ε?

<sup>17</sup> After δε[ι]μουσιου all other copies have μεσσημβιου.

- 18 l. πεσεται.  
 δε: not attested elsewhere.  
 19 κ[ι]λ[ι]τρου: so Rahlf's and, among the papyri, only P. Gen. 6 and P. Bodmer XXIV; the other papyri have, in various spellings, κλητου; see 4931 n. for details.  
 20-21 μ...μιας: the scribe certainly did not write μν-, nor do the two traces (a small round letter, it seems; the right end of a horizontal emerging from a lacuna) conform to any attested iota-accentic spelling (cf. μηρ[ι]α); P. Duke inv. 77b, μιμιας P. Leid. Inst. 10). Probably μμ-: cf. 19 ]τρου and 35 αρωου for the second oblique of upsilon curving to right at top (for υ > ου, see Gignac, *Grammata* i 215).  
 22-8 The jumps from 7' to 10', then backwards from 10' to 8', and finally from 8' to 11' may be explained as *καὶ τὴν πῆλιν αὐτῆς* (προς κε δε ~ προς κε, εγγιει~εγγιει, οτι~οτι). They have resulted in the omission of 9'-10' οτι εν . . . προς κε and 10' ους εγγιει τω εκρηματι εν.  
 23-4 l. εγγιει.  
 24 l. τοις.  
 25 ου: a haplography (ζ)ου, as in 1928, P. Ryl. I 3 and P. Duke inv. 778.  
 27-8 l. αμαρτωλων.  
 28 οφιν: it is uncertain (as in the case of οφι in 1928) whether οφει of L or οφη of all the other authorities was intended.  
 28-9 l. τοις αγγελοις.  
 31 δ . . . after δ ink for 1-2 letters, the first of which suggests λ and the second possibly a vertical. If, as is probable, this represents the beginning of διαφωλαξα, a spelling mistake of an unexpected kind.  
 33 ε: l. εν.  
 πσασιν with most witnesses; πσασ R, om. B.  
 33-4 l. οδοις.  
 34 l. χειρων.  
 37-8 l. ποδα.  
 38 ενι with R L<sup>2</sup>TheS<sup>2</sup>A<sup>2</sup>, 1928, BKT VIII 13, P. Ryl. 3, P. Gen. 6, P. Duke inv. 778 : εν' (Rahlf's text) B' L<sup>2</sup>abp, P. Vindob. G 348, P. Bodm. XXIV.  
 38-9 l. αρετα.  
 39-40 l. βασιλικου.  
 40-41 l. επιθρη.  
 41 [ε]η και κατα[ε]η: I waver between this and [ε]η και κατα[ε]η.

F. MALTOMINI

## 5128. CHRISTIAN TEXT WITH BIBLICAL EXCERPTS

88/125 part

4.5 × 3.6 cm

Third/fourth century  
Plate I

A fragment from a leaf of a papyrus codex with remains of 5 lines on each side. There are neither codicological nor internal elements to indicate which page comes first. On the → side the left-hand margin is preserved to a maximum of 1.7 cm. On the basis of the reconstruction of → 4 and ↓ 4 (see → 4 n.), we may reckon with an average of 20 letters per line and a written area approximately 10 cm wide; assuming that side margins were not less than 2 cm each, we obtain a width of about 14 cm.

The script looks professional and presents some standard features of the Severe Style, with the typical contrast between broad square letters and narrow rounded ones: μ and ν are particularly large; ο is rather small; ω (↓ 2) presents a flat base without division into two lobes. Note also the contrast between ascending and descending diagonals of λ, of which the latter is slightly thicker, and the ligature between λ and ο in → 1. Two good parallels are PSI X 1169 (Pap. Flor. XXX, pl. LIII), of the end of the third century, and P. Herm. 4 (GBEP 2a), written around 320 (but here μ is rather different). On this basis I have assigned 5128 to the third/fourth century.

There are no lectional signs. → 3 is written in *anthesis*. ↓ 3 and 4 are line-ends (3 ends with a blank space; in 4 the cross-bar of the final epsilon is extended); ↓ 5 ends with a blank, but well to the left of 3, so that the space may indicate a short verse or a paragraph-end or simply punctuation. An interlinear addition by the same hand in a slightly smaller size occurs in ↓ 3 above the final blank: perhaps a carry-over from the line before. For an estimate of letters lost in lacuna, see → 4. → 2-5 contains parts of Exodus 34.6-7, and ↓ 4-5 parts of Susanna 35a of the Old Greek version (= 42 in Theodotion's). However, on both sides (→ 1, 3, ↓ 1-3) there are textual elements that do not match the known text of the LXX for the books of Exodus and Susanna. These unidentified textual elements may be explained in two ways:

(1) They are quotations, but unrecognizable because either (a) they have been garbled in quoting from the LXX or (b) they derive from a quite different version of the Greek translation. (a) Quotations within exegetical or homiletic texts, and generally in patristic literature, are often written by heart and therefore rather free: see N. Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible* (2000) 259-60, 265-6, 269-71. (b) In the case of Exodus, we can think of a revision of the LXX text from the Hebrew text: since it does not seem to be possible to trace back the putative revision in the Massoretic Text, we could assume a different Hebrew. For examples of revisions of Exodus, see van Haelst 34

(= Rahlf's-Fraenkel 885, pp. 280–81; ed. M. V. Spottorno, N. Fernández Marcos, *Emerita* 44 (1976) 385–95); and van Haelst 16 (Rahlf's-Fraenkel 886, pp. 183–4, 367; ed. A. Bülow-Jacobsen, J. Strange, *APF* 32 (1986) 15–21), which points to a Hebrew *Vorlage* different from the Massoretic Text.

(2) The fragment belongs to a larger text, in which quotations are inserted. On this view, the *eisthesis* in → 3 could be explained as a means of distinguishing quotations from the main text. Certainly the two passages quoted in **5128** are individually very popular in patristic literature (see → 1ff. n., ↓ 4–5 n.); and the fact that quotations from two different books occur within a single leaf of a codex may encourage us to seek a thematic link between them. On the one hand, the Exodus excerpt outlines divine mercy and justice, and on the other, the quotation from Susanna focuses on the spatial and temporal omniscience of God; in other words, both passages concern the divine nature. But the two quotations appear to be even more closely connected by the concept of Justice: the former refers to God's δικαιοσύνη (→ 5), in the latter God is invoked against the άνομοι. Moreover, ↓ 1 αληθεια echoes as a 'catchword' the word αληθινος that we should probably supply in lacuna at → 4.

If we accept (2), we need to consider what genres of text might include these quotations. At least three suggest themselves: collection of *testimonia*; homily/exegesis; prose hymn/prayer.

*Testimonia*. The two quotations may form part of a testimony collection; see LXXIII 4933 introd. (pp. 11–12) for a general discussion and bibliography, to which add A. Delatte, *AnPap* 18–20 (2006–8) 119–23. In the case of **5128** the focus of the quotations is on divine qualities. Although their formulation appears at first rather general, they can easily be inserted into a 'messianic' context, which is what one expects in a testimonial collection: the attributes of clemency, justice, and omniscience could be related to the divine plan of the salvation of mankind through Christ's descent to the world. In the notes to → 1ff. and ↓ 4–5 I offer a few examples of these quotations interpreted in a Christological direction within a 'messianic' context. Comparable examples of excerpts that despite their rather generic formulation are inserted in messianic contexts occur in Ps.-Epiphanius, *Testimonia ex divinis et sacris scripturis* 30.1 and 81.1. In such collections, deviations from the *textus receptus* and exegetical remarks are both frequent (cf. M. C. Albl, *And Scripture Cannot Be Broken: The Form and Function of the Early Christian Testimonia Collections* (1999) 100–101, 66); the unexplained elements in **5128** might belong to either strand.

*Homily*. Ps.-Athanasius, *Homilia de passione et cruce Domini*, PG 28.196 §28, in discussing divine omniscience and clemency, refers to the threatened destruction of Nineveh announced by Jonas (Jonas 3.4–4.11) and reinforces his theme with our quotation from Susanna and another from Jonas 4.2 (cf. Joel 2.13; see → 1ff. n.) that is modelled on our Exodus 34.6–7. Here certainly the two quotations are juxtaposed on the basis of their thematic similarity. Thus Ps.-Athanasius and **5128** have

something in common. In similar cases scholars have argued that both authors drew their material from the same book of *testimonia* (see Fernández Marcos, *Sepтуагинт* 269 n. 53; Albl, *Scripture* 66–7; id., *Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa: Testimonies against the Jews* (2004) pp. xiv–xv). However, in our case the argument would be hazardous: we do not know the order of the quotations in **5128**, or the size of the codex page that separated them. Nevertheless, the apparent 'coincidence' between **5128** and Ps.-Athanasius remains striking.

*Hymn*. A hymn or prayer might incorporate, not necessarily verbatim, well-known textual segments from the OT; the text of **5128** could be considered as a series of eulogistic phrases in the nominative, probably not extending beyond a single leaf. The mid-fourth-century prayer collection ascribed to Sarapion of Thmuis may offer an example for biblical quotations inserted in prayers (see M. E. Johnson, *The Prayers of Sarapion of Thmuis* (1995), esp. 88). As an example of Christian liturgy, **5128** would be very early; the comparable LX 4011 belongs to the sixth century. However, the layout on the ↓ side (see 2–3 n.), suggesting a text set out in verses like the Psalms, seems to offer some support for this possibility.

The text of Exodus has been collated with the edition of J. W. Wevers, *Exodus* (1991); I have also used Wevers's *Text History of the Greek Exodus* (1992). The text of Susanna has been collated with J. Ziegler, *Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco* (1954).

→

φίλο[ ] [ ]  
μακροβ[ ] υμος  
νο[ ]  
πολυελε[ ] ος και αληθινος και  
3 δικαιο[ ]

I [ ] slightly below line-level, two tiny traces very close to each other, the second higher than the first, both perhaps part of a gently rising diagonal

↓

[ ] αληθεια[ ]  
[ ] ε. [ ] υν. χων[ ]  
[ ] εου[ ]  
[ ] απο. [ ] ττης  
ο ειδως τα π[ ] αματα πριν γε-  
5 νεσεως α[ ] ντηων [ ]

1 ] , upright projecting below baseline 2 c , blurred traces at mid-height v , traces in horizontal alignment in upper part of writing space 3 ] , right-hand arc 4 ] , two traces in diagonal alignment ascending from left to right at line-level and at top-line respectively 5 after α]ρως blank space equivalent to two letters

1ff. In 2, 4 and 5 it is possible to identify elements contained in Ex. 34.6-7: καί παρήθε Κύριος πρό προσώπου αὐτοῦ καί ἐκέλευε Κύριος ὁ Θεός οἰκτιρῆσαι καὶ ἐλεῆσαι, μακροθύμως καὶ πολλόλοος καὶ ἀληθινὸς καὶ δικαιοσύνη διατηρῶν καὶ ποιῶν εὖ. The passage is particularly striking since it contains the self-definition of the divine nature in the frame of the 'Covenant', which occurs with slight variations in other biblical passages (Num. 14.18.1, Eccl. 1.19.17, Ps. lxxxv 15.1-2, etc. 8, col. 9, Od. 12.7.9, Joel 2.13, Jonas 4.2) and with comparable textual variations in numerous patristic texts. Two relevant works based on testimony collections interpret the passage in a 'Christological/messianic' sense, as containing the revelation of the complex mystery of God beyond the God of the Old Testament: Eus. DE V 17, p. 239.20-21, and Ps.-Greg. Nyss. *Treatments addressed Iulianus* PG 46.197-197-200.26 (cf. Aibl. *Pseudo-Gregory* 94-5); cf. Cyr. H. *Catech.* 1-18, 10.8-9. See also: Eus. *Generalis elementaria instructio* p. 45; Cyr. Alex. *Comm.* in xii proph., i 380-81; Cyr. Alex. *Comm.* in *Isaiahum I*, i 140-44; Bas. Caes. *Liberia* PG 31.1649; Jo. Chrys. In *epistolam ad Hebraeos*, PG 62.223-4. In relation to the hypothesis that **5128** is a hymn, we should note that an echo of this passage, in the form of ἐλεῆμων καὶ οἰκτιρῶμων, δ μακροθύμως καὶ πολλόλοος, occurs in *Constitutiones Apostolorum* 7.33.2 as a 'free-floating liturgical formula' inserted in a prayer with many originally Jewish elements (see F W van der Horst, J. H. Newman, *Early Jewish Prayers in Greek* (2008) 39 with n. 83, 89 with n. 259).

1 φίλο[ ] . Since the divine attributes in Ex. 34.6 begin with οἰκτιρῶμων, I am tempted here to suggest φίλο[ ](εἰρῆμων); of κ̄ there survive only two traces just below the base-line, which would suit its sloping upright. This adjective does not occur in the LXX, but is frequently attested as a qualification of God/Christ in the Church Fathers. Note especially Eus. *Comm.* in *Psalmos* PG 23.892.15-16 καὶ ἐπιθήσεται τοῦ οἰκτιρῆσαι δ μακροθύμως καὶ πολλόλοος καὶ φιλοκτίρῶμων. This clearly paraphrases Ex. 34.6 (unless indeed it quotes a variant text which had φιλοκτίρῶμων instead of οἰκτιρῶμων, perhaps in a different word order); and it would support the supplement suggested here. Note also Cyr. Alex. *Expositio in Psalmos* PG 69.965-8 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔσται ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλοκτίρῶν καὶ ἄξιον μετανοῦν ἐπὶ ταῖς κακίαις, κατὰ τὴν Γραφὴν, where μετανοῦν ἐπὶ ταῖς κακίαις appears to recall the slightly different formulation of our Ex. quotation found in Od. 12.7, Joel 2.13, and Jonas 4.2 (see → 1ff. n. and introd.).

3 ρ[ ] in εἰσῆσις. In theory, this might continue the quotation, μακροθύμως καὶ πολλόλοος καὶ ἀληθ[ ](ε)ῖς καὶ δικαιοσύνη διατηρῶν, with the indentation marking the continuity, as sometimes in the lemmata of commentaries. However, that produces a line length substantially greater than the plausible restoration in 4-5. Otherwise, ρ[ ] does not match the LXX text, and the εἰσῆσις may serve to distinguish the text (of a homily or of an exegetical commentary?) from a quotation.

4 I have supplied the lacuna exempli gratia from the last phrase of Ex. 34.6: the space would be enough if we assume a left-hand margin of at least 2 cm on the ↓ side and a smaller size of letters at line-end. Alternatively **5128** may have contained a slightly different text, for example without the first καὶ.

5 δικαιο[ ] The Ex. passage suggests the supplement δικαιο[ ](ων) διατηρῶν. But note that in free quotations of the passage this phrase is often replaced with the simple adjective δικαίος, which in theory cannot be ruled out in **5128**; see Jo. Damasc. *Sacra parallela* PG 96.392.38-40, and Ephr. Syr. *Sermoes paraiticci ad monachos Anghri* xxxii, lines 93-90.

↓

1ff. There is more than one way to articulate the sequence ], ἀληθεια[ in 1, and relate it to what follows. (1) The word ἀλήθεια may be part of a commentary on the passage Susanna 35a (= 42 in Theodotus's version), which appears in 4-5: this is part of a direct speech of Susanna, in which she calls God the omniscient (ὁ εἰδὼς τὰ πάντα πρὶν γενέσθαι αὐτῶν) as witness of the truth against the false accusations (ψεῦδη) of her enemies. Following this line of interpretation, the sequence in 3 can be articulated as σπ[ ]σ[ ] and referred to Susanna (but see ↓ 3 n. for alternative articulations). (2) The trace in 1 before ἀληθεια is a descender, which would suit α. A possible supplement would be σπ[ ]ρ[ ] ἀληθ[ ]σ[ ], an expression well attested in patristic literature; see 9 Clem. 3.1; Or. Gal. 8.12; Didym. Caes. *Comm.* in *Zachariam III* 6.1. But alternatively, we could consider τ[ ]ρ[ ] ἀληθ[ ]σ[ ] (= Eccl. 4.40 εὐλογεῖτε ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ἀληθ[ ]σ[ ]). This is palaeographically not very satisfactory: the descender appears to be too long and curvilinear to suit the right upright of κ̄, and the space would be very narrow for the putative c.

3-3 In 3 we seem to have line-end, with a final blank of c.3 letter-spaces. The interlinear κοϛ stands above this blank, which suggests that it is not superscript to line 3, but subscript to line 2. If that is right, we cannot take κοϛ as the insertion of an omitted word, since we would expect it to be added above the line; we should assume instead that line 2 was unusually long and the last word had to be pushed down underneath. That in turn would suggest a text set out in verses (like the Psalms), i.e. with line-end coming at fixed places. Note the line-end in 4 and what may be a very short line in 5.

On this basis, a rather tentative supplement would be ο [ ]σρ[ ]ων [ ]ρ[ ]ω [ ] κοϛ[ ]μ[ ]ω[ ]. This assumes that [ ]ρ[ ]ω is squeezed in at line-end, and that κοϛ continues the phrase. The expression so reconstructed refers to the divine entity in pagan philosophers: Xen. *Mem.* 4.3.13.7 ὁ τὸν ἄλλον κόσμον συντάττων τε καὶ συνέχων, Porph. *De antro nyphariae* 33.13 ὁ συνέχων τὸν κόσμον δημιουργοῦς; cf. also *Scholion in Anathon (scholia vetera)* 1.41-2 καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ παντὸς ἔρχεται τοῦ κόσμου συνέχων αὐτὸν, and Chrysipp. *Stoic. SVF II* fr. 447.3-4. For the verb συνέχω applied to God/Christ, see Lampe s.v. Cyr. Alex. *Comm.* in xii prophetas minores II 310.7 συνέχων τὰ πάντα πρὸς τὸ εἶ εἶναι καὶ τῆν, and Bas. Caes. *De spiritu sancto* 5.7.35-6 ὁ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ συνέχων τὴν γῆν καὶ περιδραματίζων αὐτήν.

3 ] , σπ[ ]ρ[ ] . The sequence may be restored in various ways. The remains of the first letter certainly point to a round letter, ο (but perhaps it would be too large in comparison to the other occurrences in this script) or ρ; the diagonal traces at ο [ ] would allow λ, Δ, λ. Apart from ρ[ ] , σπ[ ]ρ[ ] (see 1ff. note) we could consider (1) ] ρ ἀπο[ ]τ[ ]ρ[ ], 'the liberator'; cf. Agathangelus, *Historia Armenica* 25.6-7, where Christ is presented as τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν δεσμῶν ἀπολύτης. (2) ] ρ ἀπο[ ]τ[ ]ρ[ ], 'the donor'; however, I have found no parallels. (3) ]ρ[ ]κ[ ]τ[ ]ρ[ ]σ[ ]ρ[ ], in the sense of 'rewarder', applied to God/Christ; see Eph. *Heb.* 11.6.3 and Lampe s.v.

4-5 ο εἰδως τα πάντα πρην ρ[ ]ρ[ ]γενεας α]ρτων. The precise calculation of the space available at line-beginning in 4 is difficult: after attempts to reconstruct the lost text through tracing, I cannot rule out the possibility that ο was omitted. The passage from Sus. restored here does not occur anywhere else in the LXX. It is very popular among Church Fathers, who sometimes quote it with slight variations. Particularly interesting are the following cases, where the quotation is inserted in a clearly Christological context: Eus. *PE VI* 11.20.5-7; Cyr. Alex. *Comm.* in *Isaiahum IV*, i 357.11-15; Or. *Comm.* in *Gen.* PG 12.57.13-19 (all three passages focus on Jesus' omniscience in relation to Judas' betrayal); Or. *Selecta in Psalms*, PG 12.1104.37-54 (related to the crucifixion).

5129. JUSTIN MARTYR, *FIRST APOLOGY* 50.12, 51.4-5

109/137a)

6.3 × 3.4 cm

Fourth century  
Plate I

A scrap from the foot of a parchment codex leaf. Inner and lower margins are preserved, the former to a width of about 0.9 cm on both sides, the latter to a depth of about 2.2 cm on both sides; the original margins are unlikely to have exceeded these figures by much. The hair side precedes the flesh side, which will have held approximately 25 lines. The dimensions of the written area will have been approximately 9.5 × 10.6 cm. If the outer margin was approximately as wide as the inner margin and the upper margin two-thirds as deep as the lower (cf. Turner, *Typology* 25), the original dimensions of the leaf will have been about 11.3 × 14.3 cm, and the codex will belong to Turner's Group XI (*Typology* 29).

The text is written in a medium-sized upright angular hand of the 'severe' type with small ε, ο, and ς hanging from the notional upper line. Letter formation is not perfectly consistent: for example, ς is fairly tall at the start of a line (hair side 3) but can be very short (as later in the same line). A fairly similar hand is that of XXXIV 2699 (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 49), which Turner dates to the fourth century, comparing P. Herm. 5 (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 70) of about 317-23. The only preserved lectional sign is an inorganic trema on an initial ν (flesh side 2), probably due to the original scribe.

This is the first published ancient copy of a work of Justin Martyr. The text is otherwise known only from the unreliable manuscript A (Parisinus graecus 450, of 1364). 5129 corresponds closely in the Isaiah quotation at 51.4-5, as was to be expected, but differs significantly at 50.12, where it has a shorter text. Collated with D. Minns and P. Parvis, *Justin, Philosopher and Martyr: Apologies* (2009).

## Hair side

προφήταις[ς ε]ν α[ις] πάντα ταυτα (50.12)  
προεῖρητο γενε[σ]μενα πιστευ  
σαντες και δυναμ[ι]ν

## Flesh side

] θ[ικαιο]ν εν θ[ουλεν] (51.4)  
οντα πολλοις] και τας αμαρτίας ο  
μων αυτος ανο]σει δια τουτο αυτος 51.5

## Hair side

As text of this sentence runs as follows:

ἕτερον δὲ, ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάντος καὶ ὀφθίοντος αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῖς προφηταῖς ἐντυχὲν ἐν αἷς πάντα ταῦτα προεῖρητο γενεόμενα διδάξαντος, καὶ ἐς οὐρανὸν ἀνερχόμενον ἰδοῦντες καὶ πιστεύσαντες καὶ δυνάμιν ἐκείνῳ πεμφθεῖσαν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντες καὶ ἐς πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων ἐλθόντες, ταῦτα εἰδόντες, καὶ ἀπόστολοι προσγορευόμενοι.

ἐντυχεν was evidently not present in this copy following προφήταις[ς (1), but ε]ν α[ις] πάντα ταυτα] may provisionally be accepted at the end of the line: it gives a line of suitable length, to judge from the other side, where the supplements (in a quotation from Isaiah) are not open to much doubt. The text of the following line must again have been shorter than that known from A. γενε[σ]μενα πιστευ]σαντες, as printed above, appears to be of the right length, and it accounts for the case of προφήταις[ς, now governed not by ἐντυχεν as in A but by πιστευ]σαντες. The absence of ἐντυχεν before ε]ν α[ις] (1) could by itself be explained by parablepsis, but no easy mechanical explanation is available for the apparent absence of διδάξαντος καὶ εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνερχόμενον ἰδόντες καὶ following γενε[σ]μενα (2). Perhaps the fuller form of the text known from A is the result of a later elaboration. Admittedly, the ἐκείνῳ that follows δυναμ[ι]ν (3) in A would be deprived of its reference if ἐς οὐρανὸν ἀνερχόμενον ἰδόντες did not precede, but there is no way of telling whether the word (or the phrase to which it belongs) was present in this copy.

## Flesh side

2-3 ο] [μω]ν: A has ἡμῶν both here and in the quotation of the same passage (LXX Is. 53:11) at Dial. 13.11. The Septuagint has αὐτῶν with no variants recorded except in these quotations in Justin. It is not easy to choose between the readings of this copy and of A. ο] [μω]ν may be due to the influence of the second-person-plural forms at 51.3 ἐμὸν δόντε περὶ ἀμαρτίας, ἢ ψυχῆ] ἡμῶν θύματα σπέρμα μακροβίων. But either reading could produce the other by itacism.

W. B. HENRY

## II. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

## 5130. FROM ALCIDAMAS, PRAISE OF POVERTY

88/197

Fr. 1 11.5 × 18 cm

Third century  
Plate II

The main fragment offers the end of a roll, with colophon. There are a few line-ends from one column, then an intercolumnium of 1.5 cm; then a second column to full width (6.5 cm, 20–24 letters), with a right-hand margin of at least 3 cm, and a lower margin of at least 4.3 cm below the colophon. Writing with the fibres; back blank. The vertical edge of a *kollesis* shows just to the right of the line-ends of col. ii. Eight scraps are assigned to the same item on the basis of the handwriting; backs all blank. Fr. 2 may have belonged in col. i, but I have not managed to join or place it precisely; on fr. 3+4 see note there.

The script is a rapid, practised semi-cursive, without abbreviations (except perhaps final eta suprascript, fr. 2.7, 6.3); it is assignable to the third century, compare for example XVII 2106 (Letter of Prefect, AD 306 or not much earlier). No lectional signs except paragraphs below fr. 1 ii 16 (and probably below fr. 3+4.6) and a final coronis whose top can be seen to the left of fr. 1 ii 21–2; short blanks mark clause-end in fr. 1 ii 19 (after *ναυκ*) and 20 (after *εχρε*), cf. fr. 3+4.1 and 2. Unmarked elision fr. 1 ii 12<sup>7</sup>, 16. Iota adscript written correctly, fr. 1 ii 21–2. Corrections fr. 1 ii 5 (word added above line), 18 and 19 (both *currente calamo*).

The colophon describes this piece as *ἐκ τοῦ Ἀλκιδάμαντος πενίας ἐγκώμιον*. The *ἐκ*-formula typically introduces an excerpt, for example in Stobaeus. The script suggests that this was a private enterprise, not part of a talatican anthology; of course, copying extracts, especially from rare books, is a normal part of ancient literate practice; see William A. Johnson, *Readers and Reading Culture in the High Roman Empire* (2010) 153–6. This copyist is literate, ending his work with a coronis and a formal end-title, spaced and centred; in the few surviving lines, his orthography is perfect, including iota adscript as needed; his one lapse from the professional is the syllable division between fr. 1 ii 12 and 13 (see note). We cannot exclude the possibility that he abridged or paraphrased his 'excerpt'. However, the lines fully preserved show no example of hiatus, and each clause has some form of cretic ending (— — — — — fr. 1 ii 15, 18–19, 19–20, 23–4, — — — — — 16, — — — — — 22–3); see on this M. Winterbottom in D. Obbink and R. Rutherford (edd.), *Culture in Pieces* (2011) 263–5. That speaks in favour of taking them as authentic Alcidamas, written μετ' ἀκριβείας καὶ ῥυθμῷ (περὶ τῶν γραφόντων, *Artium scriptores* B XXII 15, 16).

The work itself may be mentioned by Menander Rhetor 346.17 (p. 32 Russell and Wilson): *παράδοξα δὲ (sc. ἐγκώμια) οἶον Ἀλκιδάμαντος τὸ τοῦ Θανάτου ἐγκώ-*

μιον ἢ τὸ τῆς Πενίας [ἢ τοῦ] Πρωτεύως τοῦ κυνός. The bracketed words occur in only one of the three branches of the tradition (manuscripts MmW; the other representatives of the branch do not contain this passage; see Russell and Wilson pp. xli–xlili). Spengel printed them without comment in his edition of 1856 (*Rhetores graeci* iii 346), which was for long the standard version; Bursian in his edition of 1882 (pp. 23, 46), and Volkmann, *Die Rhetorik der Griechen und Römern* (1885) 316, argued for their omission, and so R. Kassel, *Untersuchungen zur griechischen und römischen Konsolationstheorie* (1958) 15 n. 3; Russell and Wilson omit them as 'clearly wrong'.

With this omission, Menander mentions only two works, the *Encomium of Death* by Alcidamas, and the *Encomium of Poverty* by Proteus the Cynic. Against this we could argue that no other source mentions any specific written work of Peregrinus Proteus; Lucian credits him with 'many books' (*de morte Peregrini* 11), but in the context of his alleged Christian phase, so that the information has not always been taken seriously.<sup>1</sup> In favour, we have the difficulty of explaining the longer text. Various editors have understood it as (a) '... or the encomium of poverty or (the encomium) of Proteus the Cynic'; (b) '... or the encomium of poverty or Proteus the Cynic' (alternative titles of the same work); (c) '... or the encomium of poverty (by Alcidamas) or (the encomium of poverty) by Proteus the Cynic'. However, (a) and (b) have the disadvantage that they give no author-name to balance that of Alcidamas; (c) would work only if *τοῦ* were emended to *τὸ* or *τὸ τοῦ*. See the editions of Alcidamas by G. Avezzù (1982) 68–70 and J. V. Muir (2001) p. xxvii n. 58; M. Narcy in R. Goulet, *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques* i (1989) 108.

The new papyrus shows that Alcidamas did leave (or was credited with) an *Encomium of Poverty*; Cornford argued from Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1401a that he left also an encomium of the dog/Cynic (*CQ* 3 (1909) 281–4). It would be neat if Menander cited three examples, all by Alcidamas; but in that case *Πρωτεύως* must be eliminated, or the text is more seriously corrupt or interpolated. Russell and Wilson note the *Πρωτεύως κύνων ἢ σοφιστικῆς* attributed in the *Suda* to the elder Philostratus; but it is also worth remembering that Alcidamas' contemporary Antisthenes wrote *Περὶ Πρωτεύως* and *Περὶ τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύως καὶ Πηνελόπης* καὶ [50 P: καὶ om. B] *περὶ τοῦ κυνός* (DL 6.17–18), presumably the Odyssean Proteus and the dog Argos.

The papyrus gives us only the very end of Alcidamas' argument, which sets up a disjunction between 'praising those who have most despised wealth' and 'not thinking like them'. If fr. 1 ii 12–13 is rightly reconstructed, he will have condemned this situation: it is absurd to laud great examples of austerity in the past, yet not to

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. C. Heusch, *Gymnasium* 114 (2007) 458 with n. 80 (I owe the reference to Dr Henry). P. Ross, *Georg. I 22 i 15* would provide concrete evidence, if we accept Gröner's Π[ε]ρὶ πείνου ἀν[σ]τολῶν in place of Jernstedt's Ν[ε]ργηδῶν ἀν[σ]τολῶν (M–P\* 2089; see CPF I.1\* (1989) no. 2 with IV.2 pl. 242; R. Ottranto, *Antiche liste di libri su papiro* (2000) no. 15 with pl. xii); and indeed Lucian, *mort. Per* 20, mentions an Olympic *apologia*. However, neither reading seems verifiable from the published photographs.



share their attitude in the present. For the subject matter in general, see W. Meyer, *Laudes inopiae* (diss. Göttingen, 1915); W. D. Desmond, *The Greek Praise of Poverty* (Notre Dame, 2006).

I am greatly indebted to Dr W. B. Henry for his amendments to the detail and to the overall interpretation of this text.

Fr. 1 col. i

col. ii

1 . . . . . ] . [ . . . . .  
 ] η , μ ε [ . . . . .  
 ] , πα ρ α κ η ε υ [ . . . . .  
 ] , τ ο ν μ ε [ . . . . .  
 5 ] . τ ω ν α . [ . . . . .  
 ] , ρ ε τ ω ν [ . . . . .  
 ] , ι α ν θ ε [ . . . . .  
 ] , ο υ τ ο ν [ . . . . .  
 ] , ο σ υ ρ [ . . . . .  
 10 ] μ α τ ω ν [ . . . . .  
 ] φ θ ε ρ ε ι [ . . . . .  
 ] ω σ δ ο υ κ [ . . . . .

α ο . [ . . . ] η μ . [ . . . ] λ α ι . .

] η ε π α ι ν ε υ τ ο υ σ τ λ . [ . . . ] ο ν μ α . .

] ζ η 15 λ ι σ τ α κ α , α π ε ρ ρ ο [ ] η ρ ο τ α σ

] , μ η φ ρ ο ν ε υ δ ε κ [ . . . ] ο ι σ τ ο ι α

ε γ ω μ ε ν ο υ ν κ [ . . . ] ω σ ε β ο η

θ η ρ α τ α ι α ν θ ρ ω π ο ι τ ω σ τ λ α

ν α ι σ ε ι δ ε τ ι σ [ α π ι σ τ ε ι ] δ υ ν π ε ι

σ τ ω σ χ ε ι τ ο ι κ ο ν χ ρ ο ν ο

τ ω ι λ ο γ ω ι δ ι α τ ρ η σ α σ κ α ι

] τ η σ κ η η θ ε α ι δ ε δ ο υ λ ε υ

. . . ] υ τ ω π ο ι ε ι θ ω τ η κ ρ ι

] . . . . .

] . . . . .

] . . . . .

] κ τ ο υ λ κ ι δ α μ α ν τ ο σ

] , ε ν ι α σ ε γ κ ω μ ι ο υ

col. ii

2 ] η , c rather than ε? 3 ] , horizontal tip joining π at mid-height 4 ] , point on edge above cross-bar of τ [ λ , μ, possibly ν 5 ] , upright element curving leftwards at base 6 ] , oblique element sloping down to join ρ at mid-height 7 ] , right-hand elements of ε? 8 ] , shallow oblique descending to join α at mid-height 9 ] , point at two-thirds height, then

upper part of upright (together, N?) 13 α , foot of vertical, then high horizontal joining ο ο [ ] , two verticals, with traces of high horizontal on the broken edge above, apparently π but narrow ρ , lower arc ρ , trace on line; then e.g. right-hand side of η or ω μ [ ] , lower hook e.g. of ε; foot of sloping upright 14 ] , lower loop ] , [ ] , shadowy ink, vertical with horizontal crossing at top; then patch of damaged surface, no ink visible 15 α , high horizontal, damage below 16 κ , in ligature with κ ink rising to right 18 θ ρ overwritten on α (perhaps a digraphy of the preceding α ω) 23 of τ the upright and higher up horizontal ink joining left-hand tip of ω 26 ] , ligature rising from mid-height to left-hand tip of κ 27 ] , upright

Fr. 2

Fr. 3+4

. . . . . ] . [ . . . . . ] . . [ . . . ] ε [ . . . . .  
 . . . . . ] . . . . . ] , ρ ο σ π α ν [ . . . . .  
 ] ν α λ λ ι [ . . . . . ] η [ . . . ] , ο δ ο κ ι μ α [ . . . . .  
 ] η τ ο ι ε [ ρ ο [ . . . . . ] . . . [ ] , μ ε ν ε [ . . . . .  
 5 ] , τ ο ν λ ο υ τ ο [ ] [ . . . . . ] , α ν ε ι δ ε ρ [ . . . . .  
 ] , ν α ν α ρ α ω [ . . . . . ] δ ε κ [ ] , τ ε ρ [ . . . . .  
 ] μ ε ν ο υ ν . . [ . . . . . ] . [ ] . [ ] . . . . .  
 ] , , ν α τ [ . . . . .  
 ] , . . [ . . . . .

Fr. 2

3 4, no diaeresis visible, but surface damaged [ ] , upright, separate trace at mid-height; to right: N? 4 , ρ , high trace (tip of rising oblique?) above damaged patch 5 ] , trace on edge just below left horizontal of τ [ ] , promontory of papyrus preserved to upper level, no trace of ink 6 ] , point level with letter-tops above hole ν [ ] , after ε papyrus preserved to mid-height, no trace of ink, probably line-end 7 . . [ ] , upright, short horizontal at top left, π or perhaps τ; to right lower arc, above line-level, cf. fr. 6.3 8-9 disordered fibres

Fr. 3+4

These fragments show a common fibre-pattern; each provides half of omicron in 3 ο κ α , and of mu in 4 ο κ α [ ] One letter-space blank before ε 2 ] , horizontal trace at two-thirds height end, one letter-space blank after α ω 3 ] , upright curving leftwards at top 4 ] . . [ clear but ambiguous ink, e.g. π . [ ] σ π . [ ] , 4, apparently ι in ligature, e.g. λ ι 5 ] , perhaps ink from left joining the upper junction of λ . [ ] part of oblique loop, λ or ο? 6 ] , perhaps the top overhang of ε or c 7 ] , horizontal ink in the interlinear space, rising to the right: paragraphus rather than extended top e.g. of τ with or without ligature left.

Fr. 5

Fr. 6

Fr. 7

Fr. 8

Fr. 9

] φ ι κ [ . . . . . ] , ρ [ . . . . . ] , α υ [ . . . . . ] , [ . . . . . ] φ ι [ . . . . .  
 ] , ε [ . . . . . ] , ι c [ . . . . . ] π ω [ . . . . . ] θ ρ [ . . . . .  
 . . . . . ] , η η ν [ . . . . . ] . [ . . . . . ] α τ ο [ . . . . .

Fr 5

1 ], upright hooked to right at foot, ε? 2 ], horizontal ink joining ε at mid-height cross-bar of ε extended but not joining next letter

Fr 6

Line-ends. 1 ], foot of vertical well below the line, e.g. 1 2 ], curving trace low in line, perhaps lower right of o 3 ], oblique, rising from left to right, in upper part of line

Fr 7

1 ], turned-over papyrus may conceal traces; otherwise perhaps line-beginning

Fr 8

Probably not the same hand. 2 φ, ], from the apparent o a long vertical descends into the line below: original φ corrected to o? After φ, probably ν

Fr. 1

col. i

col. ii

1	]. [	], [	
		]γ, με [	
		] παρασκευ[	
		] των με [	
5		] τανα	
		] γδετων	
		] ιαν δε	
		] οντων	
		] ος γι	
10		] ματων	
		] φθειρει	
		] ωδουκ	
		α. ο. □. ρ. ψμ. □. [ . . . ] λαι .	
	]η	επαιείν τοδε πλ [ . . . ] ου μά-	
	]εη	λιστα καταπεφο[ν]ηκότας	
		] μ[η] φρονείν δ' έκε[ίν] ου όμοια.	
		εγω μέν οδν εκ[α]ν[ά]ς εβοη-	
		θησα ταίς άνθρωποις πά-	
		ναις: ει δε τις [άνιστρέ]ει δυσπέ-	
20		ετως έχει, τον ίσον χρόνον	
		τάϊ λόγου διατρίψας δν και	
		τημ εννηθείαι δεδούλευ-	
		κεν ο]στου ποιείθω την κρί-	
		εν. ]	

23

] ]  
| έκ τοῦ Αλκιδάμου  
| Γενίας Εγκωμίου

'... How is it not absurd to praise those of the ancients who have the most contempt for wealth, but not to think like them?—Well, I for my part have done enough to rescue human error: If anyone finds himself incredulous, let him spend the same time on the argument as he has also spent enslaved to the customary view, and on that basis make his judgment.'

(End-title) 'From Alcidas' *Praise of Poverty*'

col. i

14 actually ranges with the line-space between ii 14 and 15.  
15 See below on frs. 3+4.6-7.

col. ii

7 θωω?  
8 π]ουτου?  
10-11 Εξ ε χρημίστων (λήθησ)? ... διαφθέρει.  
12 ουκ: the kappa is very cursorily written, but I see no clear alternative; and ούκ | ετροπον seems likely as a phrase. However, the division over the line-end is then anomalous (ου]καποτων would be the norm), a strange carelessness in an otherwise literate copy.  
13 φ. ο. □ ] v: perhaps ετροπον. ουκ | ετροπον by itself could introduce a positive assertion (in which case e.g. ήμο]σιν); τ]ίς δ' ουκ | ετροπον would, as often, introduce an incredulous question. The choice affects the interpretation of 14-16: 'to praise those who most despise wealth but not to think like them'—'that is not absurd', or 'how is that not absurd?'

]λαι : perhaps ]λαιων. Dr Henry suggests e.g. τ]ήν μέν [τω]λαιών, commenting 'Perhaps A. has just been discussing famous persons of old who are generally praised but who (in his opinion) can be shown not to have thought highly of wealth. People revere these men but have failed to act on this reverence by adjusting their own attitude to the pursuit of wealth accordingly (or rather have simply failed to notice the problem).'

14 πλ. [ ] . ου: presumably πλο]στου, with a space between τ and ου to avoid a flaw in the surface.

15 Dr Henry notes the (intentional) jingle -φρονη . . . φρονει.

16 εκε[ίν]ου: the space looks tight for [ου], but the typical ligature of εκ helps. Not δέ α[ν]ε]στ]ος. 17-18 εκ[α]ν[ά]ς εβοηθησα: εκαν[ά]ς εβοηθησεν Plato, *Phaedo* 88e (τ]ήν λόγου), *Euthyd.* 297D (helping a person).

18-19 ταις . . . πά]λαιαι. Either the writer is wandering, or άνθρωποις is here treated as two-termination. LSJ and DGE quote Lucian, *Aein*. 46 for this (άνθρωποιου τροφοές all MSS, to judge from Macleod's silence); W. Kastner, *Die griechischen Adjektive ceteris Evidenzen auf -OC* (1967) 69 n. 43, cites also SEG XI 922.20 (Gythieion, Laconia, AD 15) ταις μετριωτέρας τε και άνθρωποις (sc. τιμαίς).

19-20 δυσπέτερος έχει. The adverb is attested only in this phrase, and the phrase appears first in Isocrates (*Panegyricus* 18), then once each in Dion. Hal., Plutarch and Justin Martyr. It appears also once in [Plato], *Eryxias* 405a, a dialogue on the use of riches that might well have made use of Alcidas.

The copyist first wrote the simple άνιστρέι, then crossed it out with a single horizontal stroke and carried on with the correct phrasing; his *dicere indiretare* comprehended the whole clause, but at this point lapsed momentarily into paraphrase.

20-21 τὸν ἱκανὸν χρόνον | γὰρ λόγων διατήρησις: the plain dative, where we might expect e.g. ἔν ταις λόγοις, by anticipated parallelism with τῆς συνθεσίαις?

21-2 τὰς λόγους . . . τῆς συνθεσίαις: abstract, 'reason . . . convention', or particular, 'my reasoning . . . your conventional usage'.<sup>3</sup> The use of the article might favour the latter, but compare e.g. Julian, Πρὸς Ἡράκλειον κωνσταντῶν 4 . . . τῆς συνθεσίαις προσέχειν οὐδαμῶς προσέκειν, τῶν λόγων δὲ αὐτῶν μόνον, καὶ τὰ ποιητῶν εὐρετικῶν αἰσθησι, ἀλλ' οὐ μαθητικῶν ζῆσιν.

22-3 τῆς συνθεσίαις δεδουλωμέναι: for the image see e.g. Menander, *Samias* 624-5 ἄρκος, πόθος, / χρόνος, συνθεσίαι, οἱ δὲ δουλοῦμαιν ἐγὼ (I owe the reference to Mr P. G. McC. Brown), Posidon. fr. 70 Theilert ἐρωτῶ καὶ τῆς προγενεστέρῃς συνθεσίαις δεδουλωμένον, Greg. Nyss. *Oratio Catechetica Magna* 128 συνθεσίαις μύλλον ἢ διανοίᾳ δουλεύοντες (and commonly in the Church Fathers). In *περὶ τῶν γραφῶν* Alcidas' picture of the chained prisoners expresses the idea much more picturesquely (*Antiqua scripturae* B XXXII 15-17, cf. Plato, *Rep.* 514A-518a).

Fr. 2

. . . ] , [ ] . . . [ ]  
] γαλλί [ ]  
] γτοις[ ρρ [ ]  
5 ] , τον πλουτο [ ] [ ]  
] , γαναιρου [ ]  
] μενον . . . [ ]  
] , γατ [ ]  
] . . . [ ]

The line-spacing suggests that this might belong to fr. 1 col. i, but not col. ii as preserved. 5 and 6 probably line-ends.

3 E.g. ἀλλ' ὄρα.

4 E.g. τοῖς ἱεροῖσι.

5 (-) τον πλουτοῖν].

6 E.g. ἦν ἀναίρου, ἀναίρου[γας. The verb in similar contexts, Isocr. *Panath.* 19, 112.

7 E.g. μέν οὖν. At the end, apparently a raised letter (cursive eta, as in fr. 63?); abbreviation?

Fr. 3+4

. . . ] . . . [ ] εἰ [ ]  
] , ροπιων [ ]  
] μ[ . . . ] , οθοκμο [ ]  
] . . . [ ] . . . ] μενε [ ]  
5 ] , αυξειδερ [ ]  
] δεκ [ ] , τερο [ ]  
] . . . [ ] . . . [ ]

2 ]τροπον acceptable; small space (i.e. word or phrase-end?) after  $\nu$ .

3 ἀ]θοκμο- acceptable.

5 E.g. αυξει.

6-7 The paragraphs shows that these are line-beginnings; and that excludes an otherwise tempting join with fr. 1 i 15 to give α]θοκμοα]ζη, since the resulting line would be much shorter than those of fr. 1 col. ii. Alternatively, the 'paragraphs' might belong to one or two extended letter-top, but the ink stands very high and no connecting traces are visible.

P. J. PARSONS

5131. TRAGEDY (EURIPIDES, *IVO*?)

18 2B.66/F(2-3)d

12.5 × 20.5 cm

Third century  
Place III

Part of two consecutive columns of a verse text written in a sloping book-hand not unlike that of XXVII 2458 (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 32; Eur. *Cresphontes*); for a datable parallel, compare LXXV 5046 (Xenophon), on whose verso is a document dated 286-305.

The style suggests an ascription to Euripides: see the notes on ii 5, 8-9, 10, 14. One of the two surviving speaker indications names Athamas (ii 8). A numeral, β, was added to the name on a second line, apparently at a later stage, perhaps to indicate that the lines are assigned to the deuteragonist. The fragmentary speaker indication at ii 12 seems also to have included a numeral on a second line, also perhaps added later. The indication of speakers by letters of the Greek alphabet is found elsewhere: see Turner on *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 32; T. Gammacurta, *Papyrologica scaenica* (2006) 240-47. The combination of name and numeral however appears to be unusual. Of the corrections, those at ii 24 and 25 at any rate appear to be due to a second hand, while that at ii 16 may be due to the hand of the main text, as are the marks of elision at ii 8 and 10, these being the only lection-signs in the papyrus. Deletion is effected by oblique cancel strokes (ii 16, 25 (twice)). The back is blank.

Col. i is lost apart from two line-ends. Col. ii begins with two indented lines, perhaps in a lyric metre, followed by a paragraphus. There follow five anapaestic lines, from which we learn that a body is being borne aloft to the home of a ruler; τῆν βαρυνδαίμονα (5) might suggest that the body is female. The line of Cadmus is mentioned (6). These verses would naturally be assigned to the chorus-leader, and since there is no speaker indication at 3, one may suppose that the opening of the column forms the end of a passage of choral lyric. Following another paragraphus, Athamas is named as the speaker of four iambic trimeters (8-11), in which he instructs bystanders to lay the body gently in front of the palace and to uncover it. According to a probable supplement, their burden is said to be painful to him (9). At 12, there is a change of speaker; some at least, perhaps all, of the following lines are in lyric metres, and the vocalization of ψυχα at 12 is also indicative of sung verse if part of a singular form, as seems most likely. Little can be made of this part of



bar of τ [ ], 9, an upright; most of a small circle high in the line 5 (first), the upper part of an upright (second), the foot of an upright [ ], at mid-level, an oblique ascending from left to right 6 of ε, the turn-up [ ], a high trace; above, the edge of the upper right-hand arc of a circle, abraded on the left There are no further traces, although the cross-fibres continue to the right 8 mg 2 β written in a greyer ink than that of α above it 8 of c, the base and a trace of the left-hand side; of ν, most of the upper part and the tip of the tail; of χ, the upper part of the first oblique and specks compatible with the upper part of the second [ ] level with the base of o, the left-hand end of a cross-stroke 9 [ ], two uprights connected by a cross-bar sagging very slightly in the middle, the second projecting slightly above the end of the cross-bar and with a hook serif to the right [ ], an upright descending below the line; an abraded trace, perhaps the edge of the lower right-hand arc of a circle 10 2, the lower part of a slightly concave upright 15, an upright; a trace suiting the right-hand part of the upper branch of κ together with part of the upright and a speck in place for the end of the lower branch 11 of φ, the lower part of an upright joined to a 12 of λ, the lower parts [ ], first, the foot of a stroke sloping slightly to the right; second, the foot of an upright followed by abraded traces suggesting the end of a cross-stroke high in the line joining an upright; third, abraded traces suggesting a cross-bar at mid-level level crossed by another stroke perpendicular to it; fourth, perhaps the right-hand end of the base of ω with specks belonging to the left- and right-hand sides of the letter 12 mg [ ], the lower part of an upright; at a slightly higher level, the foot of an upright, followed at a still higher level by a trace suggesting the base of a tiny circle or the junction of an oblique descending from left to right and an upright: N seems possible [ ], in greyer ink and at a slightly lower level, the lower half of an oval with a stroke suggesting the tail of λ or the like; above, the edge of an abraded stroke suggesting the upper left-hand arc of a circle 12 [ ], low and high specks [ ], joined to the tail of λ, perhaps the cap of c or the like; specks [ ], a high speck 13 [ ], a high trace; the upper parts of an upright and of an oblique descending from left to right 14 [ ], a shank crossing the lower left-hand arc of a circle, φ perhaps the likeliest, though the traces are not quite like any of the preserved examples; a speck 16 The supralinear θ is abraded on the right; φ may also be possible [ ], a trace at mid-level level; an upright with a short cross-stroke emerging from its top, abraded on the right, closely followed by another upright: perhaps N [ ], the lower parts of two uprights, the first with a leftward-pointing finial at the foot [ ], the foot of an upright close to the tail of α; low traces 17 [ ], anomalous, perhaps the right-hand side of ω 18 [ ], the tip of a tail close to c 21 [ ], specks [ ], a speck 22 [ ], the end of a cross-stroke touching β near the top 23 [ ], a trace suggesting an upright; traces of a stroke descending below the line 24 [ ], an upright; in greyer ink, a large L-shaped sign, its base extending below the line as far as the right-hand side of ω, with fainter traces suggesting a flat top extending above the letter-tops just beyond the upright of the following η; more may be lost below the line on the left 25 [ ], a trace at mid-level level, not *prima facie* belonging to the oblique cancel stroke, perhaps the left-hand end of the cross-bar of τ, and a speck on the line, possibly casual 27 above the first upright of μ, specks on the edge, perhaps casual [ ], the top and lower part of a slightly concave upright on the edge 28 [ ], a cross-stroke sloping upwards on the right to join the top of e, perhaps e or τ [ ], a speck on the

[ ] επτε. [ ] . . τ. [ ]  
 [ ] χαννα[ ]  
 [ ] ἀλλ' ουνε [ ]  
 [ ] οἶδε γὰρ ἦκουε [ . . . ] . τ. [ . . ] . οἶ[ ]  
 5 [ ] υ φοράδην τὴν βαρυδαίμονα[ ]  
 [ ] Κάδμου γενε[ . . . . . ] [ ]  
 [ ] πρὸς δεσπότη[νον δ] ἰόμα φέρ[ουτες.  
 10 Ἀθάμας βέε' θ' ἤνυχ[ . . . . . ] π'έλας προ [ ]  
 [ ] μικρὸν μὲν ὕμν ἄχθος, ἀλγεῖν' ὄν δ' ἔμοι.  
 [ ] γυμνοῦτε, δέικοντ' εἰς φάος πο[ ]  
 [ ] μή καὶ λε . . . . c ἐν πέπλοις [ ]  
 [ ] . . [ ] . . [ ] . . [ ]  
 [ ] . . [ ] . . [ ] . . [ ] . . [ ]  
 15 [ ] . . [ ] . . . . . ἀ]εικέλιος ὦ ταλα[ειρι  
 [ ] ἰων δύντρος [ ]  
 [ ] ]ελ[ ] . . . . α . . α . . . . [ ]  
 [ ] ]ανο[ ] . . [ ]  
 20 [ ] ]ας [ ]  
 [ ] ]ο δ' υπετρ[ ]  
 [ ] ]υ. [ ]  
 [ ] ]ροφας [ ]  
 [ ] ]αδεις[ ]  
 25 [ ] ]ωτλαστ[ ]  
 [ ] ]υρας[ ] . . [ ]  
 [ ] ]ματω [ ]  
 [ ] ]ονω [ ]

' . . empty . . .

'Another (disaster has struck?): here . . . have arrived bearing aloft the ill-starred . . . the line of Cadmus . . . to the ruler's house.

'ATHAMAS Lay . . . gently before (the palace?), bystanders (?), a small burden for you, but grievous to me. Uncover, display to the light . . . so that . . . wrapped in robes . . . not . . .

'[?] . . . soul . . . shameful, o much-suffering . . . wretched . . . wretched . . .

col. ii

2 The paragraph is vestigial, but the horizontal alignment of the traces suggests that they are more than accidental.

3-7 Anapaests: 4-5 probably dimeters (5 with quasi-caesura between the two halves of a compound adjective: West, *Greek Metre* 95 n. 56), 6 monometer or (more probably) dimeter, 7 dimeter (not

paroemiac, although it ends the system). Attic γ 3, 5. The catalectic dimeter in final place is anomalous. Perhaps something has dropped out after γ: for instance, the scribe may have skipped ahead to a second instance of -ντες at line-end concluding the system.

3 *συντί[με]ρις*? Cf. Eur. *Ion* 1446-8 *πῶθεν μὲν συνέκρυε δ' ἀδίκητος ἦδονά;*, *IT* 875 *τίς τύχη μοι ἐκνευρήσει*; Then e.g. *δδίων μελάθρους* (*IT* 105-6 *ἔλλάττον δ' ἄλλα προεβία χροεῖας ἄρρος μελάθρους ἄδονα*), or *βαρέα τύχη*. Or *συνῆθη*? Cf. Eur. *fr.* 965-3 *μυθ' ἦν τι συνῆθη δυσχερέε*. Then e.g. *νδρ* *δυστυχία*.

4 *ἦνονε* [i: both the shape and the position of the trace suggest γ rather than η (*ἦνονε*).

5 *φοράδην*. Eur. *And.* 1166, *Rhes.* 888; in a different sense at Soph. *OT* 1310.

6 *βαρυδαίμων*. Eur. *Alc.* 865, *Tru.* 112 (and a conjecture at *fr.* 915-1); not elsewhere in tragedy.

6 [ ]: the surface is stripped to the left of the trace, and though it is present to the right, further traces may have been lost to abrasion. If the trace is casual, we could treat the line as a monometer; if not, we need another dimeter.

5-6 If the reference is to Ino (or Themisto), restore e.g. *τὴν βαρυδαίμονα [γρήνην] | Κάδμων γεν[ε]α* (or (in apposition) *Κάδμων γεν[ε]α (monometer)*; or an equivalent dimeter. If the reference is to Learchus, Parsons suggests e.g. *τὴν βαρυδαίμονα [θῆραν] | Κάδμων γεν[ε]α (ἤγνομα νῶν [θῆραν concrete, 'prey', as at Soph. *Phil.* 1145]; cf. Eur. *Ba.* 1144 *θῆρα δινεπύτην*). Hyginus says simply in *tomata* ... *ισαφρίτι*; more explicitly Apollod. 1.9.2 *ἐτέλεσεν*, 3.4.3 *ὡς ἔλαβον θηρεῖας*. *Hyginus says**

7 *δεσπότης* is found in Aeschylus (*Phn.* 587; *Ora* 942 *δεσποτῶν δέμων*) and Euripides (*Hec.* 99, 1204, *IT* 439, *Pha.* 88 D. [*fr.* 773.44]), but not in Sophocles.

8-9 Eur. *Tru.* 1156-7 *θῆεθ' ἀμψίτρονον ἀπειθ' Ἐκτορος πύθων*, | *λατρὸν θέαμα κοῦ φέων λέξεων ἑμοῖ*.

8 *πρὸ β[ε]ωμάτων* likely: cf. Eur. *Hec.* 525\*, *Or.* 479, 1504\*, 1541, *IA* 820\* (\* = in this place in the line); not elsewhere in tragedy.

π[ε]λάς [ε, though damaged, seems clear; not π[ε]λάς] will have been preceded by the article. Otherwise the line would lack a regular caesura; and the precise *πρὸ β[ε]ωμάτων* is not likely to have been paired with the vague 'nearby'. We also expect a direct object to which the accusative in the following line may stand in apposition, as in Eur. *Tru.* 1156-7, quoted above. *θῆεθ' ἡεὶν[χ]ι[ω]ν νῶν ο[ι] π[ε]λάς* would fit the space and produce a line-beginning comparable to that of Eur. *Phoen.* 762 (in a suspect part of the play) *πρῶθ' ἀείων νῶν κοῦ τε πῆρ' ἑμῶν χάρων*.

9 *μικρὸν μὲν ὤμῶν ἄρθον*, ἀλγευῖον δ' ἑμοῖ. At the beginning, *μικρον* rather than *νικρον*: *μ* rather than *ν*, since the top horizontal is (slightly) concave, and the word itself makes a better contrast with ἀλγευῖον, all the more so if the body is a child's. Less likely ἀλγευῖον δ' ἑμοῖς (cf. Eur. *Hec.* 668 *βαρὸ μὲν, οὐκ ἐτόνον δ' ἑμοῖς*, *Or.* 230 *ἀνιάρων ὄν τὸ κτῆμ'*, ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἑμοῖς) or ἀλγευῖον θ' ἄμα (cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 348 *ἦδιστον, ὦ παῖ, ταῦτόν ἀλγευῖον θ' ἄμα*).

10 Eur. *Hec.* 679 *ὄμμα γυμνωθῆν νεκροῦ*, *Hipp.* 714 *ἐλε φῶς βέλων*.

End, perhaps *πῶλαι βλέπων*, with the infinitive as in Soph. *El.* 1458-9 *κἀναυδακινῶναι . . . ὄραν*, *OT* 791-2 (?), Pind. *Ol.* 9.74-5, *Nem.* 6.8. None of these contains *εἰς φῶς* or a comparable qualification, but since *βλεπων* 'εἰς φῶς' is hardly more than 'uncover', the objection is not a serious one. *πῶλαι βλέπων* preceded by punctuation is a theoretical possibility (cf. Eur. *Ion* 1432 *σπῶμα μαθεῖν*), but would make little contribution to the sense.

11 *μὴ καὶ λεληθῆς* seems acceptable, and suitable to the theme of a shrouded body. It would confirm that the body is that of a male. At the end, *πέπλος* or *-λοειά*?, then a verb in the subjunctive, e.g. *εἰσέρθῃ*, *ἐκνευρήσῃ*, *εἰσὶν* ('enters' the palace for the *πρόδρομο*).

11-12 A parenthesis marking a change of speaker may have been present. We should not expect any trace of it to survive as the surface is stripped.

12 *mg*. The traces on the right, at a lower level, could be taken as the lower loop and further remains of λ, corresponding to β in 8 *mg* and written in the same greyer ink. The higher traces to

the left should then offer a character indication. If so, *εἰ[ω]* or *εἰ[ω]* is a possibility, though no more, consonant with *α* if that signifies 'protagonist'.

12 If it is Ino who has just been brought on, who sings this lament? The dying Hippolytus laments his own fate (Eur. *Hipp.* 1347-88), but he walks on, supported by his servants; the victim in 5131 is carried shoulder high. *ἦενε* [i] 8 might hint at the care due to a still-living person, but the general context, and the brusque stripping of i 10, suggest the contrary. But if Ino has been brought on dead, we must find another character to sing these lines. On the other hand, if Ino is the singer, we must find another victim, and her son Learchus would fit the bill.

12 *θυναεμωχῆ*, however articulated, seems possible but cannot be confirmed. We have considered also *θυναε* [θυναε β', βε], but if the trace represents the left-hand oblique of delta it seems too close to the alpha before it.

13 *β[α]λῶν* appears suitable. Before it, perhaps [*εμ*] *μα*, 'with a spear-shaft', with reference to the killing of Learchus, though in Apollod. 1.9.2 the fatal weapon is an arrow (5-6 n.). [*εμ*] *μα* *β[α]λῶν* could be the end of a dochmiac: cf. 14 n.

14 Eur. *And.* 131 *ἄμα αἰετῶν καταβέβη*. The adjective is not found elsewhere in tragedy. It is seldom used of persons; Parsons proposes *μῦθος εἰμωλιος*.

*ταλαεῖρος* is used for *ταλαίμαχος* by the tragedians according to the Et. Gen. and Photius (Trag. Adesp. 599). No other word beginning with these letters is attested for tragedy; *ταλαεῖρος* only in epic and in Bacchylides. *ὁ ταλαεῖρος* or *ὁ ταλαεῖρος* may be considered; or *α* may represent φ.

ἀ[ε]μωλιος ὁ ταλαεῖρος may be the end of one dochmiac and the whole of the next.

15 If the metre is dochmiac, word-end is likely before *χ[ε]ων δέκρονος* (West, *Greek Metre* 110). The first word may be a participle, e.g. *θαν[ε]ν*.

16 Perhaps *λαον* corrected to *λαον*.

17 *ἀπο[ε]μ[ε]*?

22 (-) *τροφαί*, (-) *τροφαί*.

24 For the sequence *ωλας*, cf. perhaps Eur. *Alc.* 837 *ὁ πολλὰ ἔλασα καρδία καὶ χεῖρ ἑμῆ*, *Ion* 1497 *ὁ δευρὸ ἔλασα, μῆτερ*. The function of the sign placed after the first letter-trace is unclear. The thick upright might be a divider; its continuation, a thinner concave stroke extending horizontally below *α*, suggests a *δφ' δ*. The corrector may have intended to show that *ωλα-* forms a unit (*δ + ωλα = ωσπι?*), but if so we do not see how to continue. Perhaps two lines had mistakenly been run together (as in Bacchyl. 13.159-60) and the corrector simply wished to indicate the correct division.

W. LUPPE / W. B. HENRY

## III. KNOWN LITERARY TEXTS

5132. ARISTOPHANES, THESMOPHORIAZUSAE 1203-9  
(ADDENDUM TO LVI 3840 + LXXIII 4935)

87/28(c)

2.2 × 4.5 cm

Second/third century

A newly identified fragment belonging to the right of 4935 fr. 2 and to the same column. 3840 (inv. 87/28(a)), taken from the same folder as the new piece, gives 1185-93, and will be from the previous column, but its level relative to 4935 fr. 2 + 5132 cannot be established as there is a *kollesis* on the right-hand side of 3840 and so no possibility of tracing the fibres across. Each of the fragments offers only a small quantity of writing for comparison, and some degree of variation may be observed, as was to be expected in a semi-cursive hand of this type, but I am confident that all four are the work of a single writer. The letters of Hippocrates in P. Berol. 7094 v. (BKT III 5-9) are copied in a similar informal style, assigned to the second/third century (BKT III pl. 1, CPF IV.2 pl. 26). 5132 contributes a second double dot signifying change of speaker (1209) to add to that at 1190 (3840). The cross-bar of final ε is greatly extended at 1206, as at 1190. The length of the long-est iambic trimeter (1203) may be estimated at 10.5 cm; 1208, which extends to the right-hand edge of the new piece, was about 9.6 cm long. The back is blank.

There is no presumption in the case of this part of the collection that items placed in the same folder were found close together. Rather, it appears that 5132 and 3840 were put together as giving the ends of comic trimeters in the same hand, while the two fragments published as 4935 (inv. 88/287) were associated instead with the prose manuscript LXXVI 5084 (Plato, *Crito*, with the same inventory number), whose writing, though not identical in every respect, is probably due to the same hand.

The supplements printed are taken from C. Austin and S. D. Olson's edition of the play (2004). The manuscript is their Π<sub>3</sub>, and P68 in N. G. Wilson's Oxford Classical Text (2007). There are no readings of interest.

4935 fr. 2

5132

Ερμ]η δολ[ε ταυτι μεν ετι καλως ποσει  
 ευ]μεν ου]ν αποτρεχε παιδαριον το]υ]τι λαβαυ  
 ευ]ω] δε λυ[σω τονδε ευ δ οπως αυ]βρ[ικως  
 1205 οταν λ]υθ[η] ταχιιστα φευξει και] τενει  
 ως τη]ν γ]υναικα και τα παιδι οικω]δ]ε [ ]  
 εμοι με]λη]σει ταυτα γ ην απαξ λιθ]ω [ ]  
 κλυσο]· ερ]ην εργον φευγε πριν του] ροστην [ ]

ηκουτα] κα[ταλαβειν ευω δη τουτο δ]ρω: [ ]  
 1210 ω γραδι] ως [καριεντο σοι το τυγατριο] [ ]  
 κου δυσκολ αλλα προω που το γραδιο] [ ]

1210-11 The space to the left of 5132 would also accommodate the transmitted -τριου] (1210), δέκολλ' (1211).

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## 5133-5. ISOCRATES, AD NICOCLEM

This section includes fragments of a parchment codex and two papyrus rolls preserving sections from the first part, the second part, and near the end of the speech.

The primary mediaeval manuscripts are Γ, representing the first family, and the group of the second family ΜΙΝSVat. In addition, Δ, while basically a *descriptus* of Γ, may have in some cases independent value (see M. Fassino, in I. Andorlini et al., *Studi sulla tradizione del testo di Isocrate* (2003) 151-200, esp. 163-81; S. Martinielli Tempesta in CPF I.2\*, p. xiii). Sigla of MSS are based on the list in CPF I.2\*, pp. xxxi-xxxii; sigla of papyri are those adopted in CPF I.2\* and I.2\*\*. As collation text I have used my forthcoming edition of *Ad Nicoclem*, which is part of the joint project to publish a new edition of Isocrates for the Oxford Classical Texts series. F. Seck, *Untersuchungen zum Isokratext* (diss. Hamburg 1965) is cited as Seck, *Untersuchungen*.

Hitherto 21 papyri and parchments preserving parts of *Ad Nic.* have been published (p16-33, p119Γ, p120Γ, and P. Gen. IV 160, a sixth-century school exercise including *Ad Nic.* 42-43, 46, together with a passage of *Ad Dem.*), of which eight (p18, p19, p21, p26, p28, p29, p30, p32) come from Oxyrhynchus.

I am grateful to Dr Stefano Martinelli Tempesta and Dr Marco Fassino for helpful advice.

## 5133. ISOCRATES, AD NICOCLEM 4-5

105/219(b)

(b) 3.9 × 6.8 cm

Third/fourth century

Two fragments, (a) and (b), from a leaf of a parchment codex. Each page holds 11 lines. Upper and lower margins are preserved to 1.2 and 3 cm; preserved straight edges suggest that these are the original figures. The inner margin is about 0.8 cm wide (probably the original figure, since a straight edge is present) and the preserved outer margin about 1.7-2 cm wide. The original size of the page was 7.5 × 9.8 cm; the written area was 4.8 × 5.8 cm. Thus 5133 is a miniature codex, to

be assigned to Turner's group XIV (*Typology* 29–30). Three other published parchment codices of Isocrates have similar dimensions: P. Ant. II 84 (p89; m/iv), LXIX 4717 (p18; iv) and VIII 1096 (p43 + p95; iv). Traces of ruling, extending into the outer margin, are visible on the flesh side above and below the first line. Page numbers are partially preserved above the outer edge of the column of writing, with the upper margin extending to a height of 0.3 cm above the tops of the numbers.

Of the codex we have the leaf representing pages 119 and 120. Assuming an average of 143 characters per page, we can calculate that *Ad Nic.*, which contains about 16,109 characters, occupied c.115 pages: it started on page 110 (probably in the second half of the page) and thus was preceded by another text (cf. VIII 1096, which contains the end of *Panegyricus* and the beginning of *De Pace* on the same page).

We can try to reconstruct the original content of the codex with the help of the information available on the Isocratean *paradosis*: *Ad Nicoclem* is the second speech within the group of the so-called *παραινέσεις*, the first being *Ad Demonium* and the third *Nicoles*, and these three speeches could be transmitted as a *corpusculum* separate from the rest of Isocrates' works, as we see from P. Kell. III G 95 (see LXIX 4717, introd.; CPF L2\*, p1, esp. pp. 256–7; M. Menchelli, 'Gli scritti d'apertura del "corpus" isocrateo tra tarda antichità e medioevo', in I. Andorlini et al., *Studi sulla tradizione del testo di Isocrate 249–327*, esp. 289–95, *Ad Dem.* (about 15,571 characters), copied in the same format, would have occupied about 109 pages. The initial paragraphs of *Ad Nic.* would then have occupied pages 110–118. The third speech, *Nic.*, at about 20,020 characters, would require a further 140 pages. Thus the whole *corpusculum*, in this format, would have reached about 362 pages. This seems to result in a rather bulky codex considering its miniature size. Compare the figures that have been calculated for the other miniature codices mentioned above: 1096 would have required 300 pages for *Panegyricus* and *De Pace*; P. Ant. II 84, 180 pages for *Panegyricus*; 4717, 40 pages for *Ad Nic.*, but probably contained other texts (cf. S. Martinelli Tempista, 'Dai rotoli al codice: tracce della formazione del *Corpus* Isocrateo nell'Urbinate greco III', *Accademia Raffaello: atti e studi* 10/2 (2011) 73–88, esp. 83).

Alternatively the codex could have contained only the first two paraenetic speeches, making about 222 pages. Photius (*Bibliotheca* cod. 159) mentions *Ad Demonium* and *Ad Nicoclem* as a pair, qualifying them as *χρησμίμου παραινέσεις περίχοντες*, while the anonymous *βίος Ισοκράτους* clearly implies that the two speeches, sharing the paraenetic element, are complementary to each other: on the one hand, *Ad Dem.* is addressed to private individuals, on the other, *Ad Nic.* to kings (Mathieu-Brémond, *Isocrate: Discours* i p. xxxv 68–83). Moreover, P. Massil. of *Ad Nic.* (p17) contains the title *λόγος ΒΒ*, which could be interpreted as 'of the two paraenetic speeches (i.e. the pair *Ad Dem.* and *Ad Nic.*) the second', and thus provide evidence for the transmission of the two *παραινέσεις Ad Dem.* and *Ad Nic.* as a *corpusculum* (cf. Menchelli, 'Scritti d'apertura', 291 5).

The text is written in a now brown ink in a formal book-hand of medium size, of the mixed type with a very slight slant to the right. It is basically bilinear. An even right edge is produced by the use of smaller letters at line-end (p. 119.2, 3). Shading is not particularly emphasized, but cross-strokes tend to be thinner than uprights. Parallels for this hand are P. Flor. II 259 (c.260), especially the script of the two Homeric verses written in the left-hand margin perpendicular to the main text (Pap. Flor. XXX, tav. 126; Roberts, *GLH* 22d), and P. Herm. 4 and 5 (c.325) (*GBEBP* 2a and *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 70). XI 1352 (= *GBEBP* 12a), assigned by Cavallo–Maehler to the early fourth century, is also comparable, but its hand is upright with alpha made in three strokes, while in 5133 alpha has an oval loop.

Elision is applied and marked by apostrophe, which has been added later apparently by the same hand (p. 120.3, 8). *δέ* is not elided at line-end (p. 120.10). Inorganic diaeresis occurs at p. 119.10.

5133 overlaps with p16 (P. Kell. III G 95), p17 (P. Massil.), p19 (PSI XI 1198) and p22 (PL II/40). One good reading is shared with the other papyri and the second family against Γ (p. 120.8–9), and another with the other papyri and Γ against the second family (p. 119.10–11).

Page 119		Page 120		
(a)	ρiθ	(a)	ρκς	
	των ιδιωτ]εσων	(β)	τους [εν ταις μονα	
	των με]ν επιεικως		χαις ρη[τας επει	
	δε πρατ]τοντων		δαν δ' ε[θμιμηθηω	
	η τον των τ]υραν		ςι του[ς φοβους και	
(b)	5 νεω]ρη[ων στα]ρ	§5	(b)	5 τ[ους κ]ι]δου[ρους
	μ]εν γαρ [αποβλε		και διε]ξιουτ[εσ	
	ψωκω ει[ς τας τι		... ]ιν τους μ[εν	
	μας και τους [πλου		... ]ον ηκεις 'ε	
	τους και τας [δυνα		χρη]ρη διεσθαρ	
10	ςτειας ισοθ]εουσ α	10	με]ρηους του δε	
	παντες [νομι]ουσι		εις του[ς οικειο	

## Page 119

2–7 p17 omits με]ν (2) and γαρ (6) uniquely and [ρος] (4) with Δ alone (but the error will have arisen independently there); it also offers the unique corruption αποβλεψωκωι for [αποβλε]ψωκωι (6–7).

7–10 ει[ς τας τι]μας . . . τας [δυνα]ς κρειας with Γ<sup>ms</sup> AINSVat. In p19 and p22 this reading can be reconstructed on the basis of the space; p16 inserts αυτων after τιμας, while p17 wrongly omits the preposition before τας | [τιμα]ς; Γ has προς τοις τας τιμας . . . τας δυνας κρειας εχουσαι (interpolated from §8).

10–11 α]παντες with p16 p17 p22 Γ: παντας AINSVat: π[αντες ο]σ[τα] παντας p19. On the



inferior, reading of the second family, see Seck, *Untersuchungen* 41–2 n. 14; CPF L<sup>2</sup>\* on p17 III 8 (p. 402). Of course one cannot rule out the possibility that **5133** offered *παυρες*, not *α[παυρες]*; the space would allow either. On Isocraean usage, see Seck, *Untersuchungen* 78 n. 89; LXIX **4721** 5, 6 n.; CPF L<sup>2</sup>\* on p17 XIV 3–4 (pp. 433–4).

Page 120

2–3 ερεει]δαν δ' with the rest of the witnesses, apart from p16, which omits δε and transmits ερεειδ' αυ.

7 . . . ]α: δροει p17 (αδουει) Γ: εδροει p16 (εδροει) ΑΙΝSVat. The former seems too short here (it is not clear which p19 had). For a detailed discussion of the two readings, see Seck, *Untersuchungen* 40 n. 15, who states that εδροει gives better sense, especially in relation to the preceding participle διεφθαρκε, and is supported by Isocraean usage; cf. also CPF L<sup>2</sup>\* on p17 III 11 (p. 402).

8 . . . ]: restore ια] (p16 Γ), ια] (ΑΙΝSVat), or αα] (NS<sup>2</sup>). ια] gives the best sense: see CPF L<sup>2</sup>\* on p17 III 12 (pp. 402–3).

8–9 ηκικα . . . ε[χρ]α: ηκικτα χρσν Γ: ηκικτα εχρσν p16 p17 p22 Δ ΑΙΝSVat, inserted in Γ<sup>2</sup> as a correction. Only tiny vestiges of the letters represented by sublinear dots are preserved. Perhaps the scribe wrote ηκικτα in full and then cancelled the final α and substituted an apostrophe. The variation χρσν/εχρσν represents an interesting problem in the textual tradition of Isocrates; see recently (on this passage) CPF L<sup>2</sup>\* p. 403. We have no reliable evidence for normal prose usage in the fourth century BC (Attic inscriptions provide scattered examples of both forms, but all in verse texts of Hellenistic and Roman date; see Thraette, *Grammar* ii 499); the form with syllabic augment is that normally attested in documentary papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods (Gignac, *Grammar* ii 226). M. Fasino, *L'Encornio di Elena e il Plataico di Isocrate* (diss. Milan 2011; available at <http://air.unimi.it/handle/2434/158082>), comm. ad *Plat.* 21, pp. 271–2, argues that εχρσν should be preferred except where hiatus would result.

10–11 δε [εic. The scribe seems to have written δε | [εic with *scriptio plena*: there was no room for δ' εic in 10, but without δε, the line would have been too short.

D. COLOMO

**5134. ISOCRATES, AD NICOCLEM 39–41**

104/117(c)

fr. 1: 3.2 × 6 cm

Early third century

Two fragments of a papyrus roll, possibly from the same column. Intercolumnium is preserved to c.1.5 cm on the right-hand side of fr. 1. The column width was about 7 cm. The back is blank.

The text is written in a small hand of the Severe Style, slightly sloping to the right; cf. II **223** (Roberts, *GLH* 21a), assigned to the early third century on the basis of the document on its front (II **237**, a petition of 186). High stop is found at fr. 1.9.

**5134** overlaps with p16 (P. Kell. III G 95). It presents one certain agreement with Γ (fr. 1.8–9) and one very probable agreement with the MSS of the second family (and partially with p16; see fr. 2.3–5 n.). Moreover, **5134** partially preserves the section of §39 quoted in the *Antidosis* in an abbreviated form, a section which, together with other parts of the same oration, has been considered by several scholars as a later interpolation; see fr. 1.1–7 n.; P. M. Pinto, *Per la storia del testo di*

*Isocrate* (2003) 172–6; S. De Leo, 'La citazione della "De Pace" nell'"Antidosis"', in I. Andorlini et al., *Studi sulla tradizione del testo di Isocrate 215–22*, esp. 217, p. 33 (P. Lips. inv. 1456), assigned to the late third century BC, provides comparable textual evidence for §§33–4.

Fr. 1

τοis πραγμασι και τοis] α[ν] §39

θρωπις δυναμενου κα]ι μη  
διαταραττομενου εν τ]αις του  
βιου μεταβολαις αλλ]α κα

5 λωις και μετρωις και τ]ας κυμ

φορας και τας εντυχι]ας φε  
ρειν επισταμενου κα]ι μη  
θαυμασθς εις πολλα των] λεγο

§40

μενων εστιν α και κυ γιγναι]σκεic

10 ουδε γαρ εμε τουτο παρ]ελα

θεν αλλ ηπισταμην οτι] το

(c.5 lines missing)

Fr. 2

] αυτοι τ]ινυχανου  
ειν επιτη]δευου]εc αλλα γαρ

§41

ουκ εν το]ις λογοis [χρη] τοis πε

ρι των επι]τηθεν]ματων

5 ζητειν τας κα]νωσ]ητας

Fr. 1

1–7 **5134** does not support the view that part of §39 is a later interpolation, a view based on the fact that the corresponding extract quoted in *Antid.* is shorter and contains variations. γ and θ transmit two short sections of *Ad Nic.*, χωῶ . . . τούτων (end of §38) and σοφῶς . . . λέγοντας (beginning of §39), in inverse order, a transcription very probably made by Isocrates himself, possibly for the sake of the rhythm; see Pinto, *Per la storia del testo di Isocrate 176* n. 54.

3 The supplement printed may be slightly too long for the gap.

8–9 λεγο]ιμενων with Γ: εισημῶνων p16 ΑΙΝSVat. Seck, *Untersuchungen* 88–9 n. 135, expresses a slight preference for the second reading; he notes Isocrates' tendency to use the participle εισημῶνα to indicate 'vorhergehende Darlegungen' and λεγόμενα to indicate statements that follow in his speech.

9 The supplement printed seems about two letters too long.

10-11 I have restored c. g.  $\pi\alpha\rho\{\lambda\alpha\}\{\theta\epsilon\nu\}$  with  $\Gamma$  against  $\delta\iota\lambda\alpha\theta\epsilon\nu$  transmitted by p16 and the MSS of the second family, but the space would allow either reading. Seck, *Untersuchungen* 89 n. 136, defends the reading of  $\Gamma$  on the basis of Isocrates' usage.

Fr. 2

3-5 In the supplemented parts, for  $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$   $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$  (p16 APNSVat; suggested here by the spacing, and preferred by Seck, *Untersuchungen* 89-90 n. 139),  $\Gamma$  has  $\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ ; and p16 has  $\chi\rho\eta$  after  $\zeta\eta\tau\epsilon\nu$  rather than after  $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\iota\varsigma$ . Note that the supplement printed seems about 2 letters too short to fill the space available between  $\epsilon\pi\{\tau\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\nu\}$  (4) and  $\kappa\alpha\{\sigma\eta\{\eta\gamma\alpha\varsigma\}$  (5).

D. COLOMO

5135. ISOCRATES, *Ad NICOCLEM* 48-9, 51-2

105/77(c)

4.8 x 10.8 cm

Third century

A fragment of a roll containing parts of two columns, written along the fibres. The back is blank. The upper margin is preserved to 1.3 cm; intercolumnium of c. 1 cm. Of col. i, only line-ends survive; of col. ii, beginnings of 22 lines. Col. i appears to have held about 38 lines. Ten lines of col. ii occupy an area about 4.5 cm high. The height of col. i will then have been about 17.1 cm. Column width can be calculated at c. 8-8.5 cm. Col. ii will be the penultimate column of the work. The entire *Ad Nicoclem* in this format would have required a roll about 1.85 m long. However, it is possible that 5135 belonged to a larger roll including the *corpusculum Ad Demonicum*, *Ad Nicoclem*, and *Nicoles* (for which see 5133 introd.). Such a roll would have been about 6 m long. For comparable 'reconstructed' cases, see D. Colomo, *Segno e testo* 6 (2008) 27-30.

The script is a medium-sized hand of the Severe Style, slightly sloping to the right. Contrast is rather emphasized: horizontals and rising obliques are thinner and sometimes delimited by final dots. A good parallel is VII 1012 (pl. IV; CPF IV.2, pll. 152-3), written on the back of a tax-register of c. 205 (VII 1045). I am inclined to assign 5135 to the mid third century, but I do not rule out a date in the second half of the same century.

A thick paragraphus, written in lighter ink apparently by a second hand, occurs below ii 5, very probably to mark pause within the line, where a new clause begins. In the intercolumnium there are remains of an annotation (or correction?) to the left of ii 3, written cursorily and at small size by another hand (perhaps the same that wrote the paragraphus, judging from the colour of the ink).

5135 overlaps with p16 (P. Kell. III G 95), but shares none of its unique readings and idiosyncrasies. It agrees with the MSS of the second family in an inferior reading (ii 12-14) and in a superior reading (ii 9, reading supported by p16 also); the deviation in ii 5-6 is merely a slip.

Col. i

Col. ii

			οι μεν δ[ια τον εριστικων] (§51)
			λογων ο[ι] δε δια των πολι
			τικων ο[ι] δ[ε] δε αλλων τωνων
			φρονιμο[τ]ερον εσεσθαι του
			5 αυτουσ π[α]ρ[η]σι[α]νοντασ εκει
			νοι δε πα[ν]τεσ ομολογουσιν
			οτι δει το[ν] κ[α]λοσ πεπαυθεν
			μενον ε[ξ] εκαστου τουτων
			γεν[ε]σθαι βουλεσθαι δυνα
			10 με[ρ]ον χω[ρ]η τουιν αφε §2
			με[ρ]ον των αμφιςβη
			τουμ[ε]νων επι το ομολογου
			μενο[ν] ελθοντα λαμβα
			νειν [αυτων τον] ελεγχον
			15 και μ[α]λιστα μεν επι των
			καυρον θεωρειν συμβου
			λεινοντασ ει δε μη και καθ ο
			λων [των] πραγματων λε
			γο[η]τασ και τουσ μεν μηδεν
			20 γ[η]γνωσκοντασ των δεον
			τ[ων] αποδοκιμαζεσ δηλον
			τ[ω]ν ο[κ]ωσ ο[κ]ωσ μηδεν αν αυτοσ

Col. i

The above reconstruction is proposed *exempli gratia* and cannot be confirmed in detail.

1 At the level of line 1, on the edge, 0.7 cm from col. ii (i.e. clearly within the intercolumnium), there is a short stroke, 1 mm long, more or less horizontal, in the same ink as the main text: remains of annotation or correction?

21 The supplement printed may be slightly too short to fill the space.

Col. ii

2-3 ο[ι] δε δια των πολι[τικων] ο[ι] δ[ε] δε αλλων τωνων with  $\Gamma$  APNSVat: ο[ι] δε δια των αλλων τωνων p16 (apparently *sauit dicitur* rather than a genuine variant; cf. K. A. Worp, A. Rijksbaron, *The Kallias Isocrates Codex* (1997) 41).

3-4 To the left of these lines, in the intercolumnium, we see ] , , , apparently written by the same hand as the paragraphus below 5. After what looks like a cursive alpha comes a long descending oblique ligature to it, possibly iota or perhaps the sign of abbreviation. Before the alpha, an upright whose top seems to carry the right-hand end of a cross-bar projecting slightly to the right, this would fit pi (rather than tau), but pi in a much less cursive hand and without ligature to the next letter. Alternatively, one could see the putative pi as the end of another abbreviated word (e.g. *iota with*

horizontal bar above; the intercolumnar space to the left would hardly have room for more than two letters. Since the meaning of the annotation is obscure, we cannot know whether it referred to line 3 of col. i (now lost, or to line 3 of col. ii. Textual variants and textual annotations are usually written to the left of a column, while explanatory annotations are accommodated to its right; see K. McNamee, *Annotations in Greek and Latin Texts from Egypt* (2007) 15–16.

4–5 τούτῃ | αὐτοῖς with all MSS, except p16, which has τοῖς αὐτοῖς, apparently a mere slip.

5–6 κείνῃ]οι: *κείνῃ* p16 Γ A1NSVat. This apparently unique variant is in fact a mere slip, produced by a sort of homocarchon within the kola between lines 2 and 6 (οἱ δὲ . . . οἱ δὲ . . . κείνῃ δὲ) and probably also by the fact that *κείνῃ* δὲ is followed by another nominative plural, *πάντες*.

6 ομολογεῖται suits the space. p16 alone has *ἀνομολογεῖται*, a compound that does not occur elsewhere in Isocrates.

8 εἰ with all MSS apart from p16 (αἶ). The traces in 5135 are clearly compatible with epsilon, but not with alpha.

9 γει[σ]εται with IINSVat: *γίγνεσθαι* p16 A (*γίγνεσθαι*): *φαίνεσθαι* Γ. For discussion of these variants of *γει*, *Untersuchungen* 97 n. 165, who defends *γίγνεσθαι* as giving better sense after *ἔξ ἑστέου τούτου*; compare *Antid.* 187 and 293.

10 Line slightly shorter than the average: perhaps blank space after [δύνα]με[σ] to mark the start of a new section/new paragraph?

11 If we reconstruct this line according to the text transmitted by all witnesses, it would contain 14.5 letters, i.e. the line would be too short, even taking into consideration the fact that in the lacuna broad square letters predominate. Therefore I am tempted to assume a different text or a case of diatopography of some elements.

12–14 [επι το ομολογεῖ]μενο[ν] ελθοντα restored with A1NP<sup>+</sup>(τόν Ν<sup>+</sup> ν induct.)SVat on the basis of the space. Γ transmits *επι τοῦ ἀνομολογημένου* (preferred by Seck, *Untersuchungen* 97–8 n. 166). p16 transmits *επι τοῖς ομολογουμένοις* ελθοντα, where *ομολογουμένοις* can perhaps be referred to λόγους (so, doubtfully, Worp–Rijksbaron, *The Kellis Isocrates Codex* 209).

16–17 *συμβου]λεῖσθαι*: so Γ: τοῖς *συμβουλευόντα* p16 and MSS of the second family. The shorter reading seems to fit the space better; and in any case, as Seck, *Untersuchungen* 98 n. 167, points out, the participle here has a predicative function and therefore does not need the article.

17–18 The paradoxos is divided: *καὶ καθ' ἑαυτῶν*: τοῖς *καθ' ἑαυτῶν* p16 N<sup>+</sup>: τοῖς *καθ' ἑαυτῶν* N<sup>+</sup>: τοῖς *καὶ καθ' ἑαυτῶν* S<sup>+</sup>Vat: τοῖς *καὶ καθ' ἑαυτῶν* S<sup>+</sup>: τοῖς *καθ' ἑαυτῶν* Λ: τοῖς *καὶ καθ' ἑαυτῶν* Π. *καθ' ἑαυτῶν* (p16 ΓN<sup>+</sup>S<sup>+</sup>Vat) is certainly right; see CPF L<sup>2</sup> on p17 IV 9 (p. 404). Before this phrase, to judge by the space, 5135 may have had *καὶ* (I) or *τοῖς* (p16 N) but not both. Seck, *Untersuchungen* 98 n. 168, rejects both *καὶ* and *τοῖς*, but the former gives good sense ('even') and should be adopted.

D. COLOMO

### 5136–9. ISOCRATES, NICOCLES

Four newly identified papyri are edited here, one from the beginning and three from near the end of the text. All except the first include parts not otherwise preserved in ancient copies: of these, twelve have been published so far (p1, p68–77, p125T), including four from Oxyrhynchus. The primary manuscripts are Γ and, from the second family, A1NSVat (and for the opening sections also Auct = Bodl. Auct. T.I.11). Collations have been kindly provided by Dr Mariella Menchelli. The collation text is E. Drerup, *Isocratis Opera omnia* i (1906) 131–46.

### 5136. ISOCRATES, NICOCLES 1–2

A. 10<sup>b</sup> B4/7(H)1–2

3.2 × 3.4 cm

Second/third century

A fragment of a roll. On the back, written across the fibres, six lines of third-century semi-cursive. A line of the Isocrates text was about 7 cm long and held about 21 letters. The speech probably began at the top of the column to which this fragment belonged. The column will then have had at least 21 lines and been at least 12.3 cm high. If the speech had begun at the top of a preceding column, that column could be no more than 9.4 cm high, which seems excluded: see Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 119–25. The gently sloping hand is an example of the 'Severe Style', comparable to that of LX 4045 + 4053 (Aeschines).

The papyrus offers a new but probably false variant (1).

This part of the text is also transmitted in p1 (P. Kellis III 95; IV).

ε]υρησκειναι γιγ[νο]με	(§1)
νασ επε]στα κακειν [α]στοπον	§2
ει λελη]θεν αυτους [ο]τι τα	
περι του]ς θεουσ ευ[ε]βαιουμεν	
5 και την] δικαιοσυνην	

1 ε]υρησκειναι: *εἰρήσκειναι* is given by the other sources, including p1. The third person plural verb makes sense but is probably a corruption due to the influence of the preceding third person plural forms in -ουσι(ν).

2 επε]στα: *επειστα* δε p1, wrongly: see the editors' note.  
κακειν [(as Γ) or -εισ] (as p1 A1NSVat Auct).

W. B. HENRY

### 5137. ISOCRATES, NICOCLES 55, 57

67 6B.11/F(2)a

7 × 4.4 cm

Sixth century

A fragment of the inner edge of a papyrus codex leaf. The inner margin is about 1.7 cm wide. If the reconstruction printed is more or less correct, a line will have been about 14 cm long and contained about 28 letters on average. A column will have held 24 lines and occupied an area about 15 cm high. The written area will then have been approximately square, and the codex will perhaps have belonged among Turner's 'aberrants of Group 5' (*Typhology* 18).

The 'Biblical Majuscule' hand displays an exaggerated contrast of thick and thin strokes: the latter can now sometimes scarcely be made out. Α has a very

narrow loop joining the back of the letter low in the line. There is some resemblance to the second hand of the Vienna Genesis (cod. theol. gr. 31; *GBEBP* 29b; vi).

There are no new variants. Textual uncertainties make the reconstruction of the missing parts rather complicated: for the procedure followed, see the commentary.

The papyrus briefly overlaps with p75 (P. Vindob. G 29797 = P. Rain. Cent. 22; III?) in §57 (up to *την παιδευσιν την τωιαυτην*).

→

	[		
	[	χαλε	(§55)
	που[ε] η	πρωσ[τερουσ ειναι τους τυραν	
3		νουσ αλλα κα[ι τον τροπον τον των	
		πολιτων πο[λλοι	
	...]		
	...]		
	...]		

↓

		] [	
	ρημενην	επιζειτ αυτουσ] ως μα[λ]ιςτα	(§57)
	διατριβειν ην γαρ	καλωσ αρ]χενθαι μαθω	
3	ειν πολλω	μαλλον αρχειν] δυνησεν	
	ται	] [	
		] [	

Choice among the transmitted variants is constrained by the need to ensure a perpendicular left-hand margin on the ↓ side. For the stretches of text to be supplied in ↓ 4 and 5, apart from minor variants, a longer and a shorter form are known from the later manuscripts: but if the lines are to begin on the same alignment as ↓ 3, the longer versions must be adopted in both places, in conjunction with the shorter of the two possible verbs in ↓ 3. There is then a similar choice between shorter and longer versions to be made in → 3 and 4; again, if the lines are to be of about the same length as those previously reconstructed on the ↓ side, the longer versions must be adopted. But no certainty can be claimed for the reconstruction, since the papyrus may have had in some places readings not found in the later tradition.

→

- 2-5 These sentences are transmitted by Stob. 4.6.18.  
 3 *πρωσ[τερουσ]*: so T, followed by Drerup. AINSVat Stob. have *πρωουσ*.  
 4 The second *των* is present in T Stob. (followed by Drerup), but not in AINSVat.

↓

2-3 *την* ε[ρημενην]: so Γ, followed by Drerup. A has *την τωιαυτην*, as did p75 (*την τωιαυτην*), while AINSVat have *της τωιαυτης δεσπης*.

3 I have supplied *επιζειτ* with AINSVat (←επ). Γ, followed by Drerup, has *διδακκετ*, repeated from the beginning of the sentence.

4 I have supplied *ση* (Γ: δὲν AINSVat) and *καλωσ* (Γ: οὐν AINSVat), following Drerup.

5 *πολλω μαλλον* supplied from AINSVat. Γ, followed by Drerup, has *πολλων*, which has been doubted (F. K. Hertlein, *Neue Jahrbücher* 109 (1874) 18). But Isocrates always has *πολὺ μάλλον* rather than *πολλῶν μάλλον* (Preuss, *Index Isocratius* 65), though he uses *οὐ πολλῶν* with *ἄστερον* (*Rhetor* 72, *Hell.* 26).

W. B. HENRY

## 5138. ISOCRATES, NICOCLES 59-60

23 3B.13/L(1-4)

3.9 × 3.2 cm

Fourth century

The upper outer corner of a miniature codex leaf. A line will have been about 5.6 cm long and held about 15 letters. The → page will have had about 10 lines, occupying an area about 6.3 cm high. The upper margin is about 0.3 cm deep, and the outer margin 0.3 cm wide on the → side and 0.9 cm wide on the ↓ side.

The hand is crude, with considerable variation in letter size and formation. It has some resemblance to the only slightly more skilfully executed hand of II 209 (Romans 1; *GBEBP* 1a; R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (1996), no. 302), 'no doubt a schoolboy's exercise,' which 'was found tied up with a contract dated in 316 AD, and other documents of the same period.' (The contract in question has been identified as I 103; see further A. Luijendijk, *JBL* 129 (2010) 575-96.) No doubt 5138 is also a school exercise. The format has no good parallels in papyrus codices of classical texts (Turner, *Typology* 22, 25), but closely resembles that of the schoolbook P. Vindob. G 29274 (*MPEP* ns IV 24; Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students*, no. 403; iv-v), which is preserved complete in four sheets of papyrus measuring 9.5 × 5 cm. The book to which 5138 belonged may have had about the same number of pages. There is no way of telling how much of it was occupied by this extract.

The text appears to have been fundamentally a good one, but it is marred, as expected, by poor spelling (η for ε: → 2; ι for ε: ↓ 4, 5(?)). The frequency and nature of the errors suggest that the text may have been copied from dictation. The same is plausibly suggested in the case of the other published student's exercise consisting of an extract from the *Nicocles*, P. Vindob. G 39977 (§19; p125T; first

edition: J. Lunden and G. Messeri, *ZPE* 132 (2000) 125–31; vi). In general on the use of the *Cyprian Orations* in education, see R. Criobire in R. S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (2009) 329–30.

The papyrus overlaps with **5139**.

→		↓	
	νοματώ]ν εκατον των (S59)		μας αυτου[ς παρεχον (S60)
	πραγματω]ν τητυ		τες εξ[ι]σου
	χηκεν τ]οιαντας η		σθαι τοις [προεχου
	γειςθε κα]ς τας θνητα[		σι]ν φιλων [οισθε
5	μεις αυ]των ε]ιναι	5	δων κ]α[ι

→ This sentence is transmitted by Stob. 3.1.69.  
 1 εκατον. So Γ (followed by Drerup): *εκατα* AINSVat Stob. (TL: *εκατων* Stob. cod. Par. 1985 according to Gaisford, apparently an emendation).  
 2–3 τητυ[χηκεν: l. τε-. AINSVat Stob. omit the υ.  
 3–5 τ]οιαντας . . . τας θνητα[μεις]: a unique corruption (singular for plural) is offered by **5139** 1–2.  
 3–4 η]γειςθε. So Γ AINSVat Stob. (followed by Drerup): *ηγειςθαι* (Π\*NS<sup>π</sup>) not excluded.

↘ The first sentence (up to 3–4 [προεχου]ς) is transmitted by Stob. 3.38.40.  
 1–2 παρεχου]rec. So **5139** Γ A<sup>π</sup> Stob. (followed by Drerup): -*τα* A<sup>π</sup>INSVat.  
 2–3 εξ[ι]σου]σθαι. So **5139** AINSVat Stob. (MAB: καί *εξιοιουθε* S Tr); Γ<sup>π</sup> in mg. (followed by Drerup): *εξιοιουθε* Γ. The supplement is uncertain, since line 2 could easily have accommodated the whole of the infinitive. Perhaps the writer committed an error of some kind.  
 3 τοις om. Vat.  
 3–4 [προεχου]ς]. So Γ S: *προεχουσι* AΠ (-*τ*-) NVat.  
 4–5 φιλων and [δων]: l. *φιλων* and *δων*. [δω] is not quite certain but suggested by the space available.

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**5139.** ISOCRATES, NICOCLES 59–61

15 2B.42/C(e)

2.6 x 7.6 cm

Second/third century

The foot of a column of a papyrus roll, blank on the back, with a lower margin 1.4 cm deep. The column was wide: a line held about 31 letters and was about 9.5 cm long. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 206, notes only two rolls from Oxyrhynchus containing prose texts whose columns fall in this 'aberrantly wide' group, XVIII **2181** (Plato, *Phd.*) and LII **3667** ([Plato], *Alc* ii); in both cases, the column width is estimated to be 10.1 cm, while the column heights are estimated to be 21.7

cm (**2181**) and 23.25 cm (**3667**). Ten lines of **5139** occupy a space about 5 cm high. Since the text from the end of this column to the end of the work would occupy only about 26 lines, this is almost certainly the penultimate column.

The text is written in a small informal and rather irregular round hand with numerous ligatures. The upright of τ has a right-pointing hook at its foot, as do both uprights of η and sometimes ι. ζ is cursive and descends below the line; ρ also descends, as does ι when ligatured to a preceding λ. λ and γ may be looped at the apex (λ) or base (γ), but the loop and tail of λ are usually made separately. The only lection sign is a trema on *εξε[ι]ουθε* (5), presumably added by the scribe. Among Isocrates papyri, the hands of LXIX **4722** (*Ad Nic.*; p30; η) and **5141** (*De Pace*; π/π), which was found together with this papyrus, are similar, but in some respects the semi-cursive hand of LXX **4760** (Antonius Diogenes; π/π) is closer. Cf. also SPP XXII 1 (Harrauer, *Palaographiae* Abb. 143; π/π), especially its λ1 and ζ.

The papyrus offers a new corruption (ι). There are three instances of -αι for -ε in verbal endings (-*σθαι* for -*θε*: 4, 6; -*ται* for -*τε*: 9), but *φρονει]τε* (10) is spelt correctly.

**5139** overlaps with **5138** at the beginning (1–6) and with p76 (P Er. 10; III) at the end (7–12). The latter has a similarly pronounced tendency to substitute -αι for -ε in verbal endings (3, 6, 11, 12 (x2), 22), and in the one place where it is possible to check, the papyri agree in offering the false spelling (**5139** 9, p76.3).

		] τουαυτην [ηγειςθαι (S59)
		]60
	και την δυναμιν αυ]των εναι [μη φο	
	νευτε τοις παρ εμου] πρωτευουσιν αλ	
	λ αμλλασθαι και πει]ρασθαι χρ]ηστους	
5	υμας αυτους παρεχο]ντες εξε]ιουθε	
	τοις προεχουσιν φιλε]ν οισθαι [δων	
	και τιμαν ουσπερ αν κ]αι ο βασιλευ]ς να και	
	παρ εμου τυγχανη]τε των αυτων τ]αυτων	
	οια περ παροντος μο]υ λεγεται τ]ο]ι]αυτα	
10	και αποντος φρονει]τε την ευρ]οιαν	]61
	την προς ημας εν τοις ε]ργουσι ενδε]ικνυ	
	σθαι μαλλον η εν τοις λο]γοις α]παχ]οντες	

1–2 ] τουαυτην [. . . την δυναμιν: other copies (including **5138**) correctly give the plural *τουαυ-  
 τας* . . . *τας δυναμεις*. The corruption may be due to the influence of the preceding singular *εκατον*  
 (vl. *εκατα*: see on **5138** → 1).

1, 4, 12 -*σθαι* supplied for -*θε*: cf. 4, 6, and 9 for the scribe's practice; **5138** → 3–4. n.

2–6 μη φοβουετε . . . προεχουσιν is transmitted by Stob. 3.38.40.

4 και πει]ρασθαι (l. *πειραθε*) om. Stob.

5 παρεχο]ντες εξε]ιουθε: for transmitted variants, see on **5138** ↓ 1–3.

6 οὐχθαι. l. οὐθεθ.

9-10 As no margins are preserved, it is not possible to determine reliably on the basis of the space available whether 5139 had *περ* (Γ\* AINSVat) . . . και (AINSVat), as given above, or *περ* . . . και *περι*, with Γ (followed by Drerup), but I have tentatively preferred the former. For discussion, see CPF L<sup>2</sup>\*\* on p76.2 (p. 685).

9 λέγεσαι. l. λέγετε. The same error in p76.

12 In the supplement, I have tentatively preferred *εγ* εν (Γ\* [p76]: μὲν Γ\*), printed by Drerup, to η (AINSVat) on grounds of space. For discussion, see CPF L<sup>2</sup>\*\* on p76.5 (p. 685).

W. B. HENRY

#### 5140-43. ISOCRATES, *DE PACE*

Four further papyri of this work are presented here, of which 5140 is the most extensively preserved ancient copy of the work except p46 (P. Lond. Lit. 131). The others, though small, shed interesting light on the ancient transmission. 5141 presents in its short compass two unique deviations from the word order as known from other manuscripts. 5142 and 5143, the earliest copy published to date, demonstrate the ancient circulation of corruptions hitherto unique to p46: for a comparable case, cf. p59 (LXIX 4737) ii 10-11 n.

18 other ancient manuscripts have been published, of which 15 are from Oxyrhynchus. All four of the new papyri overlap with p46; 5140 alone also overlaps with p48 (LXIX 4728), p49 (LXIX 4729), p50 (P. Heid. I 208), p51 (P. Oxy. Hels. 7), p53 (LXIX 4731), p55 (LXIX 4733), and p58 (LXIX 4736; possibly part of an extended quotation in *Antid.*). The later manuscript tradition is represented by Γ and, from the second family, A11N; in the passages cited in *Antid.*, (γ)θλ are used. The collation text is the Budé edition of G. Mathieu (1942). Information about manuscript readings is drawn from B. Mandilaras, *Ο περὶ εἰρήνης λόγος τοῦ Ἰσοκράτους ἐκ τοῦ παπύρου τοῦ Βρετανικοῦ Μουσείου* (1975), and E. Drerup, *De codicum Isocrotarum auctoritate* (Leipziger Studien xvii/1, 1895) 136-60, and from CPF where available. N has been collated from digital images. For the quotations in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Dem.* and *Isoc.*), the Budé edition of G. Auzias (1978-88) has been used. Variants in the restored portions are only mentioned where considerations of spacing seem decisive, and minor variations in such matters as use of elision or *scriptio plena* and presence or absence of optional final *v* are not generally mentioned. Poorly attested corruptions in other manuscripts are recorded only selectively.

W. B. HENRY

5140. ISOGRATES, *DE PACE* 13-14, 16, 22-3, 25-7, 31, 35-6, 40-44,

46-7, 49-50, 58-63, 70-73, 76-9, 88-91, 99,

102 3, 112 13, 124 5, 136 7, 142

87/53(a) + 88/24c

Fr. 8 9.2 × 14.5 cm

Second century

Numerous fragments of a papyrus roll, written along the fibres. (Not included below are several unplaced fragments and scraps.) The back is blank. The fragments represent about 24 columns scattered throughout the text of the speech. No complete line is preserved, and none of the columns is preserved to its original height. Fr. 8, the largest, contains the lower portions of two adjacent columns, the second of which had about 48 lines. Fr. 25 and 29 preserve the top and foot of a single column also of about 48 lines. Apart from fr. 8 + 9, 14-16, 17-18, and 25-9, the arrangement of fragments in columns is uncertain, but each of the following groups is likely to have belonged to a single column: fr. 4-5, 19-21, and 23-4. The height of each column was about 29 cm (one of the highest figures attested for a roll from Oxyrhynchus: see Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 121-5), the width was about 6.5 cm, and lines contained between 18 and 22 letters. Fr. 17 preserves the upper margin to a depth of 2 cm. Fr. 8 preserves the lower margin to a depth of 2.5 cm and an intercolumnium 1 cm wide. The height of the roll was therefore at least 32.5 cm. A rough letter count suggests that fr. 1 is to be assigned to col. 4 of the roll, fr. 2 to col. 5, fr. 3 to col. 7, fr. 4 to col. 8, fr. 5 to col. 9, fr. 6 to col. 10, fr. 7 to col. 11, fr. 8 + 9 to cols. 13-14, fr. 10 to col. 15, fr. 11-12 to col. 16, fr. 13 to col. 18, fr. 14-16 to col. 19, fr. 17-18 to col. 20, fr. 19-21 to col. 22, fr. 22 to col. 23, fr. 23-4 to col. 24, and fr. 25-9 to col. 27. The reconstruction of the end of the roll, where no column tops or bottoms survive, is more uncertain. If we assume that each column in this stretch of the text contained on average about 1,080 letters (the approximate figure for the column represented by fr. 25-9), then fr. 30 will belong to col. 30, fr. 31 and 32 to col. 31, fr. 33 to col. 34, fr. 34 to col. 37, fr. 35 to col. 40, and fr. 36 to col. 42; the work will have ended in col. 43. If a lower average letter count is assumed for the final columns, the work may have occupied 44 or possibly 45 columns. 43 columns would give a short total length of about 3.25 m for the roll (not including initial or final titles). *Kollektis* can be recognized in fr. 11, 14, 16, and 25.

The text is written in a roughly bilinear medium-sized informal round hand. λ, α, and λ extend above the line, and φ both above and below the line. π and τ are often shorter than adjacent letters, and ω is sometimes shallow. c, θ, ο, and p are narrow; μ, π, and ω are broad. There is no shading and little ornamentation. The top of φ carries a hook to the left or a serif. The top of α occasionally bears a hook to the left. ι sometimes has a half-serif to the left at the top and/or to the right at the foot. β has a short descending oblique joining its upright on the line from the left. The right leg of π curves and sometimes hooks to the right. α is

usually rounded but sometimes angular. e and c are tall and angular at the top; o and the loop of e are tall and oval, slightly pointed at the top; μ is rounded, and the bowl of φ is triangular. The writing is often careless and letter forms are not consistent. Letters occasionally slant to the left and sometimes touch. Comparable hands include those of P. Mich. inv. 3690 (Aristophanes, *Heiros*; CLGP I.1.4, pl. 8) and the letter LXXIII 4959; see further the introduction to the latter.

Lectional signs are rare. A strong pause is occasionally marked by a paragraphus or high stop. A space filler (>) ends the line at fr. 1.3, 8 + 9 ii 22, 17.5, and 17.9. Elision is effected but not marked; *scriptio plena* at fr. 27.23. Crasis is not effected at fr. 8 + 9 ii 21. Iota adscript is not written (fr. 1.12, 16.31, and 19.2). ει is substituted for ι at fr. 1.4, 17.4, 36.3, and probably at 5.9 and 34.4, and ι for ει at fr. 22.7. Corrections are made by striking out letters or with additions above the line (fr. 8 + 9 ii 43 and 48, 18.13, and 19.3); at least some of the corrections are made with a thin pen by a different hand. There are uncorrected errors at fr. 2.3 and 19.2. There is a marginal addition (perhaps a variant reading or correction) at fr. 16.27.

As a witness to the text, 5140 is of value chiefly as providing for the first time ancient evidence for known good readings in places where the tradition is divided. In most of the passages in question, where its text can be determined with a reasonable degree of certainty, it sides with all other witnesses (if trivial errors are excluded) against p46 alone (fr. 3.5, 8 + 9 ii 21-2, 16.36, 22.3-4, 8, 25.2, 35.4) or p46 and Dionysius (fr. 1.12); in a few, the mediaeval manuscripts are divided and the papyrus agrees with Γ alone (fr. 8 + 9 ii 45, 17.3, 33.9-11) or ΠΙΝ (fr. 19.1-2). It presents four new readings: an apparent inversion of word order at fr. 5.9; perhaps ποιήκουσιν for ποιούσιν at fr. 14.8; perhaps ἐκπεύπτοντας for ἐκπεπυκώτας at fr. 34.4; ἐπ' for ἐξ (v.l. ἀπ') at fr. 36.7. The first of these is at least possible, but the others seem inferior.

For the identification of some of the smaller fragments we are grateful to Ms D. Bafa and Dr W. B. Henry.

Fr. 1

α]ξίον θαυμαζε[εν (§13)  
 ει τις ελ]πιζει την πολιν τοι[ου  
 τοις κυ]μβουλοισ χρωμε>  
 νην επι] το βελτειον επιδω  
 5 σειν ε]γω δ οίδα μεν οτι προς  
 αντες ες]τιν εναντιουθαι  
 ταις υμε]ττεραις διατ[ο]ιαις και  
 οτι δημο]κρατιας ουσης ουκ ε  
 στι παρρ]η[ε]ια πλην ενθα  
 10 δε μεν τοις α]φρονεστατοις

Fr. 2

μεναι με[ν] προς βασιλευ (§16)  
 και λακεδαιμονι[ε]ις προς  
 τατουσαις δε τους Ελ[ληνας  
 αυτονομιους ειναι κ[α]ι τας  
 5 φουρας εκ των αλλοτ[ρ]ωων πο  
 λεων εξειναι και τ[η]ν αυ  
 των εχειν εκαστους [του  
 των γαρ ουνε δικαιοτ[ε]ρας  
 ευρης] [ο]μεν

και μηδεν υμ]ων φροντιζου  
 κεν εν δε τω θε[α]τρω τοις κω  
 μοδοδιδας]καλο[ε]ς ο και παν  
 15 των εστι δει]νοτατ[ο]ν οτι τοις  
 μεν εκφερ]ουσι εν εις τους αλ  
 λους Ελληνας] τα τη[ς] πολευα α  
 μαρτηματα] τσα[υ]την εχε  
 τε χαριν οστ]η ουδ[ε]

Fr. 3

μηδ]ενο[ε]ς των αλλοτριων ε  
 φικ]μεν[ου]ς νυν μεν γαρ ει  
 κο]τοις φοβ[ου]νται γειτονα  
 ποι]ουσαθ[ε]αι την πολιν  
 5 τ]ραις αυτων δυναστεια  
 ορ]ωσι χ[α]ρ ημας ου στεργον  
 τ]ρας εφ[ο]ις αν εχωμεν αλ

Fr. 4

(§22) παραχας] μηδ α[να]βολην αλλ α (§25)  
 παλλα]γην ευ[ρη]σμεν τινα

c.3 lines missing

§23

Fr. 5

. . . . .  
 μ]ωτερα[ν] και κερδαλιωτεραν (§26)  
 ει]ναι τ[η]ς πολυπραγμοσυνης  
 τ]ην δε δ[ικαιο]συνης της αδι  
 5 κ]ιας την [δε των ιδιων επι  
 μ]ελειαν [της των αλλοτρι  
 ω]ν επιθ[υ]μιαν περι ων ουδει  
 π]ωποτε [των ηηρωων εν υ  
 μ]ειν ειπ[ε]ν ετολησεν εγω  
 10 δε] περι αυ[των] τουτων τους  
 π]λειστου[ς] των λογων μελ  
 λ]ω ποιει[ε]θαι προς υμας ωρω  
 γ]αρ την ε[υ]δαιμονιαν εν  
 το]υτοις ε[χου]σαν αλλ ουκ εν  
 15 αι]ς νυν τυ[χ]αζομεν πρατ  
 τ]ροντες α[να]γκη δε τον εξω  
 τω]ν ειθι[ε]μενων επιχει

§27

ρου]ντα δ[ημηγορειν και  
τας υμ]ε[ς]ερας γνωμας

Fr. 6

το]ν βιον [τον καθ ημερ]αν ενμ (§31)  
φ]ερουσαν [την δε δικ]αιοσυ  
ν]ην ευδοκ[ιμων μεν] γλνσι  
τε]λη δε και [μαλλον δυ]ν[α]

Fr. 8-9

Col. i

(Fr. 9)

(Fr. 8)

τιν τας με]ν κ[αυ]ε[ς]ε[ς] κ[α]ι (§40)  
τας τομ]ε[ς των ιατρων [υ]πο  
με]νεν ινα πλείονων αλ  
γη]δων απαλλαγωμεν  
το]υς δε λο]γους αποδοκιμα  
ζειν πριν ει]δεναι σαφως  
ει τοιαυτην ε]χουσι την δυ  
ναμιν ωστ ω]φελησαι το]υς  
ακουοντας του]του δ' ενεκα  
ταυτα προειπον] οτι περι  
των λοιπων ου]δεν υποε  
τειλαμενος αλλ]α παντα  
πασιν ανειμε]ν]ωσ μελ  
ι line missing

15

]. [

Fr. 7

αδικιας χ]ερον δ ομο]νται (§35)  
βιωσεσθαι] τους ταυτη [χρω  
μενους τ]ων την π[ονη  
ριαν προσηρη]μεν[ων ηβου  
λομη]ν ε.β .]. [

Col. ii

c.20 lines missing

21 ] και τα ε (§42)  
ναντια τοις τοτε] πρατ>  
τοντες αγανακτου]μεν ει  
μη την αυτην τ]ιμη]ν ε  
25 κεινους ]. [

3 lines missing

χρ]ονον γενομενων ο (§43)  
30 συν [οι μεν υπερ της των  
Ελλ]ηνων σωτηριας την  
τε π[ατριδα την αυτων εκ  
λιπε]ιν ετομησαν και  
μαχ]ομενοι και ναυμαχου]ν  
35 τες τ]ους βαρβαρους ενι  
κρη]σαν ημεις δ ουδ υπερ  
τη]ς ημετερας αυτων πλε  
ο]νειας κινδυνευειν α  
ξι]ουμεν αλλ αρχην μεν  
40 απ[αντ]ω]ν ζητοουμεν στρα  
τευσεσθαι] δ ουκ εβηλομεν  
και πολεμ]ον μεν μικρου  
δειν' προς [απαντας ανθρω  
πουκ [αναιρου]μεθα προς δε

ε.4 ]. ελλω]ν και μη]πω ε]ν]ν  
δι]εσφραρμενος ημιν αλλ ε  
ξαι]φνης επιστας τοις γιγ]η  
με]νους ουκ αν μανεσθαι

Fr. 10

ρο]υς αυ]των ιδια λυμανο (§46)  
μεθα κ]αι δασμολογουμεν  
ι]να το[ις απαντων κοινοις  
εχ]θρο[ις τον μεθον εκπορι  
5 ζ]ωμε]ν τοσούτοι δε χειρουσ  
ε]μεν [

Fr. 11

και τη]ν πολιν τα]υτην προτε (§49)  
ραν οικικεσθαι]ς των αλλων  
προσ]ηκον δ ημα]ς απασιν  
ειναι παραδειγμα τ]ου καλωσ  
και τεταγμεν[ω]ς προ]λιτευε  
εθαι χειρον και ταρ[αχωδες  
τερρον την ημετε]ραν αυ  
των διοικουμεν τ]ων αρ  
τι τας πολεισ οικιζου]σαν  
10 και σεμ]νομεθα [μεν  
και] μεγα φρονου]μεν

5 lines missing

Fr. 12

δύ]σχε]νριας (§50)  
πλειουσ δε τι]βεμ]ενοι  
νομους ουταισ ολ]ιγον [

Fr. 13

ην εν]ι κρη]να Θηβαισ Λακε (§58)  
δ]αμιο]νιουσ εκεινοι μεν ε  
λ]ευθε]ρωσαντες την Πελο  
πον]ησον

c.14 lines missing

Fr. 14-16

(Fr. 14) ημ]ιν ποιο]υσιν ημεις δε εκει (§59)  
ν]οις ωστ ει ν]ουον εχομεν  
α]λληλοισ αν [εις τας εκκληρι  
α]σ αργυριον π[αρεχομεν ο  
5 ποτερο]ν] γαρ α]ν πλεονακις συλ  
λεγωσ[ε]ν ουτ]ροι τουσ εναντι  
ουσ αμ]ε]νιουσ πραττειν ποι



- ηρουνειν χρη δε τους και μικρα λο §60  
 γι[ζεσθα]ι δυναμενους ουκ  
 10 εν τοις των ε[χθρων] αμαρτη  
 μασιν τας ε[πι]ιδας εχειν  
 ης σωτηρ[ιας] αλλ εν τοις αυ  
 των πρ[α]γμασιν και ταις αυ  
 των δια[φο]ραις  
 15 1 line missing  
 (Fr. 15) κυμβαι[ον] ημιν αγαθον  
 τυχον α]ν παυ[σαι]το και λαβοι  
 μεταβο[λη]ν [το δε δι ημας  
 αυτους γ]ιν[ο]μ[ενον]  
 3 lines missing  
 (Fr. 16) λημ[ψει]σ ποιουμενους ου χα §(61)  
 λεπ[ι]ον αντειπει ει δε δη  
 25 τις μο[ρι] παραστας των επιει  
 κες[ε]ρων διακειμενων α  
 ] . . . ληθη [μεν λεγειν με προσομο  
 ληγη[σει]εν και προσηκοντως  
 επιτι[μ]αν τοις γιγνομενοις  
 30 δικαι[ον] δ ειναι φαιη τους ε  
 π ευ[ο]μα νομ[η]θευοντας μη  
 μονοι κατα[γα]ρειν των πε  
 πραγμενων ε[λλα] και κυμβου  
 λευειν τινων [α]πεχομε  
 35 νοι και ποιων [ο]ρεγομενοι  
 πα[ν]τα[μ]εθ αν [ταυτην] ε  
 χου[ν]τες την γη[ωμην] και τοι  
 αυ[τα] εξαμαρτα[ν]οντες ουτος
- Fr. 17-18  
 (Fr. 17) ο λογος απορειν α]ν με  
 ποιησειεν απο[κρι]σεις  
 ουκ αληθους κ]αι συμφορες[η]ς  
 αλλ αρεσκου[σης] υμειν ου  
 5 μην αλλ επιειδη περ απ[α]  
 κεκαλυμμενω[ς] ωρμημα

- λεγειν ουκ απο[κη]ρτεον  
 αποφραβ[α]ς] και περι του  
 των α μεν ουν υ]παρχειν> §63  
 10 1 line missing  
 (Fr. 18) μνησειν την ευσεβει]αν και  
 την σωφροσυνην και την αλ  
 λην αρετην ολι[γ]ο[ν] προ  
 15 ταχιστα προς το τα]υτοι γε
- Fr. 19-21  
 (Fr. 19) ω]ς ταιων [ουδ]ε δεξασ[θαι] δι §(70)  
 δο]μνηνη[ν] τ]η πολει[ς] συμ  
 φε]ρει[ν] δοκ[ει]τε μοι ταχιστ αν  
 ε]κειθε[ν]  
 c.17 lines missing  
 (Fr. 20) βαιω]ς κρη τη]ν πολιν και τους §(71)  
 αλλο]υε Ελλην[ας] αγαγειν α  
 ναγκ]η δε τους [νο]υθετου  
 25 τας και] τ[ο]υς  
 c.17 lines missing  
 (Fr. 21) τ]ας συμφορας τας §(73)  
 44 απ αυ]των γινόμενας
- Fr. 22  
 Ελλ]αδος [κινδυνος] ουτω §(76)  
 δε] πιστε]υομενον ωστε τας  
 π]λειστας [αυτων των πολε  
 ω]ν εκρ]υσας εχειρικαι  
 5 ε]φας αυ]τας τουτων δ υπαρ  
 χο]ντων [αυτι] μεν της πο  
 λι]τιας η]τι παρα πασιν ευδο  
 κι]μωσ[η]ε επι ταισ[την] α  
 κο]λασιαν [η δυναμις] ημας  
 10 αυ]τη προ]ηγαγεν ην ουδεικ  
 α]ν ανθρω]πων επαινεσει

ε]ν αυτ[ι δε του νικαν τους  
ε]πιστρατ[ευοντας ουτω  
τους] πολλ[ι]τας επαιδευεν  
15 ως]τε μη[δε προ των τει  
χων]ν τολ[ι]μαν επεβιεναι  
τοις] πολλ[ε]μοις αντι δε  
τη]ς ευ[νοιας] §78

Fr. 23-4

(Fr. 23) ασελγε]ιαν των [ §79  
πατερων των ημετερων [   
οι συναγοντες] εξ απαρη]ς  
c.4 lines missing

(Fr. 24) τ]ας τρι]ηρεις απηχθα  
νοντο ται]ς Ελλην] [και τους  
10 μεν βελ]τιςτους τω]ν εν ταις  
αλλαι]ς πολεσιν εξ]εβαλλον  
τοις δε] πονηροτα]τοις

Fr. 25-9

(Fr. 25) μον δι]εφυγον ευρη]σομεν επι  
της αρχ]ης ης επιθ]μα[ομεν ανα  
στατου]ς γεγενημε]ρους ωστ ει  
2 τις σκοπει]σθαι] βου]λοιοτο περι  
των αλλω]ν ωσπερ π]ρος δεσμη  
τουτ ανοσ]θεραν [   
c.9 lines missing

(Fr. 26) τυραν]ιδας κ]αταρχ]οντας μη  
17 δε τους με]ϊζω] δ]υναστεϊαν  
του δικαιο]υ κ]εκτ]ημενους  
αλλα τους αξι]ους [μεν οντας  
20 [της μεγα]ιστης τιμ]ης στεργου]ν  
(Fr. 27) τας δ ε]πι τ]αι]ς υπο του πλη  
θους] διδομ]ειναι ταυτη  
25 γαρ εξ]ει]ν ουτε [ανηρ ουτε πολις  
λαβει]ν αν δη]ναιτο σπουδαιο  
τεραν] ουδ α]φαιλεστεραν ουδε

§90

πλειο]νος αξια]ν  
c.6 lines missing

(Fr. 28) κ]α[κοικς καθεστω]τες αλλα  
πε]ροι μεν την τροφη]ν την  
35 καθ [   
c.11 lines missing

(Fr. 29) εστιν τους αρχο]μενους ταις (S91)  
48 αυτων ε]πιμελειαι]ς [ποιειν

Fr. 30

τας νησο]νς ανη]ρουν δε τας (S99)  
εν Ιταλια κ]αι Κυκε]λια πολιται  
ας και τυ]ραννο]ν]ε]ς κ]αθιστα  
σαν ελυμ]αν]οντο δε τη]ν

Fr. 31

τη]ς α]ρχης (S102)  
αυτοι εγγενομ]εν]ην [ταχε  
ωκ κακεινης της η]γεμ]ου]σι  
ας απεστερηθη]σαν ο]ν γ]αρ  
c.11 lines missing

Fr. 33

ειδον μηδεν δ η]ττον φ]οβει (S112)  
εθαι τους φυλατ]ον]τας η τ]τους  
επιβουλευοντα]ς ουτω [δ υπο  
πτως προς απ]αντα]ς εχειν  
5 ωστε μηδε το]ι]ς ο]ικειωτα  
τοις θαρρει]ν π]λη]σιαζοντα]ς  
εικωτος ε]νι]ς[ασι γαρ του  
§113 προ αυ]των τ]ετιραννευ  
κοτας του]ς με]ν υπο των  
10 γωσων α]νηρ]ημενους του  
δ υπο των] πα]ιδων του  
. . .

Fr. 32

εστι]ν ουδ [ως (S103)  
παραφρονει]ν ποιει] τους α]γαπων  
τας αυτην ουδ ο]τ]η] την [φκειν  
ομοιαν εχει ταις ε]ται]ρα]ις

Fr. 34

ραχ]ας ας ουτο]ις πεποη]κακιν (S124)  
τω]ν μεν αλλω]ν πολιτων  
πο]λλους εκ τ]ων πατρωαν  
εκ]πειττω]ν[τας τούτους δ εκ  
5 πε]νητη]ων π]λουσιους γεγε  
νη]μεν]ου]ς ο]ικ α]νακτου  
με]ν ουδε φθ]ονουμ]εν ταις ευ  
πραγ]ια]ις αυτων αλλ υπο  
125 μενομ]ειν τ]η]ν

Fr. 35

Fr. 36

την την πολ[ιν αλ[λα και τους (§136)  
 αλλους ΕΑ]λθρας α[παντας ου §137  
 δε γαρ α]λλη των π[ολεων  
 ουδεμ[ια πολ]μρεσι[ περι  
 3 αυτους] εξαμαρταν[ειν αλλ ο  
 κνησο]ν και πολλη[ν ηκυ  
 χιαν αξο]νεν οταν [ειδωεν  
 εφεδρευου]σαν [  
 ]. [

κτρεσβαι] δε[ [τη πολει την (§142)  
 ηρημονια]ν εις [τον απαν  
 τα χρ]ονη[ον] μιση]ει και μεν  
 απασας τας τυρα[ννικας  
 5 αρ]χας και τας θυ[ραντειας  
 α]ρλογοικαμε[νονους τας συμ  
 φο]ρας τας επ[α]ντων γεγε  
 νημ[ι]νας· ζη]λωσαι δε και μη  
 μη]κασαι τ[ας εν Λακεδαίμον

Fr. 1

5 οτι with p46 codd. Dion. *Isoc.* 16.  
 8 In the lacuna, οτι (codd.) rather than διοτι (p46 Dion.).  
 8-10 ουκ εκτι παρησια precedes πην ενθα μεν as in p46 codd.: in Dion., the order of the  
 two phrases is reversed.  
 12 τω θε]στρω with codd.: τοις θε]στροις p46 Dion. For discussion, see CPF L2\*\* on p46.35  
 (p. 551).  
 12-13 κομ[μοδοδιδας]καλο[ι]ς: so p46\* Γ Α': κομμοδοδιδασκαλοιο ΑΙΙΝ Dion.  
 15-16 αλλους restored with codd. Dion.; om. p46. For discussion, see CPF L2\*\* on p46.40  
 (p. 552).  
 16-17 τα . . . [αμαρτηματα]: Dion. alone omits the article and has the singular ἀμαρτημα.  
 18 ουβ[ε]: om. IIN.

Fr. 2

1 με[ν]: om. Dion.  
 3 -ατ-: I. -αττ-. The error appears to be due to confusion of προσάττω and προσάττω  
 (WBH). On -τ- for -ττ-, cf. Gignac, *Grammata* 1161.  
 6 εξενοι: so p46\* codd.: εξενοι p46\* Dion.  
 6-7 τ[ρη αυ]των: Dion. offers την αυτην (FAV) or αυτην (TB).

Fr. 3

3 α]ντων δυναστειαις: p46 alone offers θ]ιναστειαις αυ]των. Against, see CPF L2\*\* on  
 p46.191-2 (p. 556).  
 7 εφ with Γ (and p46 to judge from the space): om. ΑΙΙΝ.

Fr. 5

3 τ[ρι]ς om. p46 (to judge from the space).  
 8-9 εν μη]εν αυ]των: I. εν μη]εν εβεν. εβεν εν μη]ν Γ IIN (and p46 to judge by the gap): εβεν  
 μη]ν Α. As often, it is hard to be sure of the original word order: *dehidi*. 2 τω ενθιμωμεν εν μη]ν δυο-  
 ρεικων does not point clearly in either direction. See in general CPF L2\*\* on p46, pp. 549-50 (WBH).  
 10 οιστως seems likely to have been present in the gap. It is omitted by Γ\*\* (ins. Γ') and p46 (to  
 judge by the space).

14 Spacing strongly favours το]ιστοις with Γ ΑΙΙΝ (and p46 to judge by the space) rather than  
 τοις το]ιστοις with θλ. See CPF L2\*\* on p46.262 (p. 558).  
 15 εν τυ]χναμονεν: εντυ]χναμονεν ΑΝ.

Fr. 7

1 ορη]σται: only feet preserved: ορη] (for Γ' αδεσβα) not excluded.  
 5 ], [ a high horizontal; the spacing suggests that it is the upper portion of π in προκειρον.

Fr. 8+9

Col. i

3 πλε]ωνου: the ι intersects the cross-bar of ε and is presumably a later addition. On the evi-  
 dence for πλε- and πλε- in this word, cf. CPF L2\*\* on p17 X 9 (p. 422).  
 7 There is an upright on the edge of ε extending from the upper left-hand corner to the lower left-  
 hand corner of ]χ: apparently the scribe began by writing another letter.  
 την om. θ.  
 11-12 ου]θεν υπο]ς[τελομενου]: reversed in θ.  
 15-16 τ]ς [γαρ εν αλλο]θεν ε]πελθων suits the traces (that in 15 suggests the lower part of ζ)  
 and spaces. αν was present in p46 (to judge by the space) ΑΠ θλ, Dion. *Isoc.*, Dion. *Dem.* 17, and Dion.  
*Dem.* 19 (AVJB), but omitted by Γ Ν with Dion. *Dem.* 19 (f). Then at the end for ε]πελθων p46 has  
 ελθων. See CPF L2\*\* on p46.466-7 (pp. 562-3).  
 16-17 μ]μ]ω]ν ε]ν]η]θε]θη]μενο]ς: variants are known from Dion. (μη] συνδιδασθε]μενο]ς *Isoc.*:  
 μη] συνδιδασθε]μενο]ς *Dem.* 17 and 19).  
 17 ημω]ν: om. ΑΙΙΝ.  
 18-19 γυ]γο]με]νο]ς. The first γ is unusually small, extending from the top to only the middle  
 of the line. In place of the present, Dion. *Isoc.* alone has γενο]με]νο]ς.

Col. ii

21-2 και τα ε]ναντια: so θ: και ταναντια Γ ΑΙΙΝ λ Dion.: τ[α δε ε]ναντια p46 (so Bell; see  
 Mandilaras (1975) 223 on lines 486-92).  
 22-3 πρα]τ[ι]στον: πρα]ττομενο]ς ποιο]ντε]ς λ.  
 24-5 τ]μ]ω]ν ε]κ]εινο]ν with p46 p49 Γ θλ Dion.: εκεινο]ν τ]μ]ω]ν ΑΙΙΝ.  
 25 The trace looks like the top of an upright or oblique with a half serif to the left, surrounded  
 by a circle, all in a thin pen. This may be a correction or punctuation.  
 29 For the supplied γενο]με]νο]ν, θλ alone have γεγε]νη]με]νο]ν. See S. De Leo in *Studi sulla tradizione  
 del testo di Isocrate* (2003) 228.  
 31 ΕΑ]λ[τρω]ν with p46 p49 ΑΙΙΝ Dion. *Dem.* 17 and 19; δλλων p48 Γ θλ. For discussion, see CPF  
 L2\*\* on p46.503 (p. 563).  
 32 τε with p48 p49 codd. Dion. *Dem.* 17 and 19; om. p46. See CPF L2\*\* on p46.502 (p. 563).  
 37 η is uniquely omitted by p48, but is likely to have been present here to judge by the space.  
 After it, p46 and Dion. *Dem.* have δαυτων in place of αυτων: either is possible here.  
 38-3 νε]μ]ω]ν εντο]λω]ν with p48 p49 codd. Dion. *Dem.* 17 and 19; εντο]μ]ω]ν ε]ν]το]μ]ω]ν  
 p46. See CPF L2\*\* on p46.503-4 (p. 564).  
 37 Spacing favours restoring αυτων with p46 (to judge by the space) p48 p49 ΑΙΙΝ Α: om. 250  
 (to judge by the space) θ Dion. *Dem.* 17. See CPF L2\*\* on p46.507 (pp. 564-5), p50. A2 (pp. 609-10).  
 39 The supplied μ]ν is uniquely omitted by p49.  
 40-41 επ]ρα]νσε]βα]ι with p46 [p49] [p50] codd.: επ]ρα]νσε]ν Dion. *Dem.* 17.  
 43 Manuscripts have either δε]ν (Γ' ΑΙΙΝ θλ Dion. *Dem.* 17) or δε]ι (p46 Γ'). Here a correction  
 reflects this disagreement; a second hand has added a shallow υ above the line between ι and η.

45 *τοῦταις* with Γ: *τοῦτων* [p46] AIN θA Dion. Dem. 17.

46 After the supplied *αθροισμας*, I<sup>o</sup> mg θA add *αἰροῦμεθα*.

48 Originally no doubt *αυτονομοῦν* as in Dion. Dem. 17 (B); a second hand has crossed out ν and inserted a shallow μ above the line.

The letters in this line (and the interlinear space above) seem vertically compressed; apparently the scribe was making an effort not to let the column of writing extend into the lower margin.

## Fr. 10

1-2 *δὲα λυμνω* restored with p46 Dion. Dem. 17; δ' οὐκ *λυμανόμεθα* I<sup>o</sup> mg θA: *λυμνωμεθα* I<sup>o</sup> AIN. See CPF L2\*\* on p46.537-8 (pp. 266-67).

3 *απαστων κοινος* supplied with p46 p51 AIN: *ἀπάντων ἀδερῶντων κοινός* Γ θA, *ἀπάντων κοινός ἀδερῶντων* Dion. Dem. 17. See CPF L2\*\* on p51.2-3 (p. 615).

4 *μειθω* restored with all witnesses but p51, which gives *βίω* (on which see CPF L2\*\* on p51.3). (There is no need to assume that *τω* was not written at the lost end of P. Oxy. Hels. 7 [p51] 2. [NG])

5 After the supplied *δε*, Dion. Dem. 17 (but not Dem. 20) uniquely has *και*, for which there is no room here.

## Fr. 11

3-4 *απασιν* *ειναι*: in Dion. Dem. 17, *απασιν* is omitted and AV] have *τῶν ἄλλων* after *ειναι*.

4 After the supplied *καλωσ*, Dion. Dem. 17 has *τε*.

7-8 *αυ*] *των οπι. θ.*

11 *μεγα φρονουμεν*: *μεγαλοφρονονμεν* Dion. Dem. 17.

## Fr. 13

3 A letter count suggests that the papyrus did not have the *τε* presented by Γ alone after *την*: so too [p46] [p50] AIN. See CPF L2\*\* on p50 B II 2 (p. 610).

## Fr. 14-16

1-2 *ημεν* . . . [*εκειν*]οις with Γ: *ημάς* . . . *ἐκείνοσιν* AIN. p50 had the dative in the first and presumably also the second place. See CPF L2\*\* on p50 B II 13-14 (pp. 611-12).

7-8 Probably *ποιησον* with Γ for the *ποιουσιν* of the other witnesses. Cf. for the corruption *Με 50 ὁπότερον ἂν ἐν κειρῷ καὶ μετ' ἀρετῆς γίγνηται, τοῦτ' ὀφείλει τοῖς ποιούσας*, where for *ὀφείλει* (Γ Stob.), p1 [p73] AINSVat have the future *ὀφελήσεται*. (WBH)

8 The supplement printed may be over-long. Perhaps the papyrus had *τοὺς μικρά* (IIN) rather than *τοὺς καὶ μικρά* (Γ A) or *καὶ τοὺς μικρά* (p46 p50). See CPF L2\*\* on p46.695 (p. 579).

9-10 The presumed division *οικον* (instead of *οικειν*) seems irregular, but P. Kell. III 95 (p1) has *οικ* at line-end at *Με 28* (line 171); cf. also 5130 fr. 1 ll. 12 n. (WBH)

23 *-λημ[θε]σιν* l. *-ληθεσιν*.

27 Above and to the left of A, the remains of two lines in a small cursive hand, perhaps a variant or correction. (Annotations are extremely rare in papyri of oratory; see K. McNamee, *Annotations in Greek and Latin Texts from Egypt* (2007) 117-18.)

In the supplement, *προ-* appears to have been omitted by p46 alone; so too *τοῖς γιγνομενοσιν*.

34-5 *τινων* . . . *ποιων* with Γ: *τινων* . . . *τινων* AIN. (p46 has *ποιων* in the second place and presumably had *τιων* in the first.)

36 *πει[σ]αμθ* av: p46 uniquely has *παινω[μεθα]* corrected to *παινω[μεθα]*.

## Fr. 17-18

3 *ειμ* with Γ: *οιδε* [p46] AIN.

5 *απρ-* variants in A alone (ἐπ. A<sup>o</sup>, ὑπο- A<sup>o</sup> mg., ἀπο- A<sup>o</sup>).

12 After *εὐφοροῦσιν*, AIN have *καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην*, but spacing indicates that it was omitted here as in p46 Γ. See CPF L2\*\* on p46.739-40 (p. 573).

13 ]*λη[σ]*: only letter-*τορα* preserved, apparently with an expunction stroke on the edge.

## Fr. 19-21

1-2 *δεξαι[θαι διδο]μεσιν* (l. *διδωμεσιν*) *την πολε[ν]* with Γ IIN: *διδ- δεξ- τ. π. A*: *δεξ- τ. π. διδ- p46*. For the inserted *μη*, cf. Gignac, *Grammat.* i 118.

22-3 *τοὺς ἀλλο[ν] Ελληνας* with p46 Γ IIN: *τοὺς Ἐλληνας τοὺς ἄλλουσιν A*.

44 The traces favour *γυμνασ[ας]* with p46: *γυμνασικὸς p53* codd.

## Fr. 22

3 *αυτα των πολεω*] with codd.: *των πολεων αυτω* p46. See CPF L2\*\* on p46.924-5 (p. 575).

8 *ευδοκ[ι]μουσιν* c with codd.: *ευδοκουσιν p46*.

11 *αι*] om. IIN.

## Fr. 23-4

3 A letter count suggests that the papyrus had *ευαγαγοτες* (p46 AIN) rather than *ευαγαγοτες* (p46 Γ). See CPF L2\*\* on p46.963-4 (p. 576).

## Fr. 25-9

2 *επιθω[ο]μεν* with codd.: *επιθωμιμεν p46*.

5 Spacing favours *ηρος δεγμα* with Γ rather than *ηρος παραδειγμα* with p46 IIN, though it does not exclude *η[α]ραδειγμα* with A. For discussion see CPF L2\*\* on p46.1119 (p. 581).

22 Spacing favours *βδομα[σ]αις* with p46 Γ rather than *βδομασικαις διαρραισιν* with AIN.

23 *εξ]ιν* (]: an upright on the edge) with p46 Γ: *ἐξουσιαν* AIN.

*ουτε* [αυτη with p46<sup>o</sup> (*ουτε* corrected from *ουτ* av) Γ: (*ουτ' ἀνήρ*); *οὐδέσθε οὐτε ἀνήρ* AIN.

34 *πει[μ]εν*: *μεν οπι. p46*.

## Fr. 30

3 *τη]θαισιν* c with p46 Γ IIN: *τυρανιδας A*.

## Fr. 31

4 [*απεκρηθησιν*] supplied with p46<sup>o</sup> Γ: *επεκτ- p46*: *εκτ-* AIN. The spacing is of little help in determining which the papyrus had when so much is lost.

## Fr. 33

9-11 [*των γουεω*] . . . *των*] *πα[δων* with Γ: *γονων* . . . *παιδων* AIN.

## Fr. 34

1 *αυτο[ι]* with p46 Γ: *αὐτοί* AIN.

4 The letters do not accord with the transmitted *ἐκπεπρωστας*. The left end of a high horizontal is preserved after *α*, probably *π*. Following *ο* there is the left edge of a short upright curving to the right at the base with a slight projection to the left at the top. It is unlikely that the scribe made an ungrammatical error as there is no sign of correction. A plausible reconstruction would therefore be *εκ]πεπρωσ[τασ* (l. *-πίπρωστας*), present for perfect. But the perfect provides a better balance for *γονων]μεσ[ου]* below (5. 6).

In the supplement, for *σοῦτος* ρ46<sup>7</sup> alone has *σοῦς*.  
7 οὐδ' of β, the top of the descending oblique: not τ (*ὄντι* ρ46<sup>7</sup>).

## Fr 35

- 2 Spacing favours [αλλουσι] as in ρ46 Γ θλ over its omission (cett.).  
4 οὐδέμει τολμυσι(ι: reversed in ρ46.  
5-6 Spacing favours οσηχο]ρικυ with ρ46 Γ<sup>α</sup> (-ci AIN) rather than ὁμοσηχοῦσι with Γ<sup>α</sup> mg θλ (ci).  
8 ἐφεδρεῖου]αυ: placed here in the primary tradition, where it is followed by τῶν δόναμων τῆν ἡμετέραν [ρ46 Γ] or τῆν ἡμετέραν πάου (AIN); θλ have instead τῆν δόναμων τῆν ἡμετέραν followed by ἐφεδρεῖουσαι. See S. De Leo in *Studi sulla tradizione del testo di Isocrate* (2003) 232-3.

## Fr 36

- 1 Spacing indicates that [τη πολει] was written as in ρ46 ρ58 Γ θλ rather than omitted (AIN).  
3-4 μεν α]πασας with ρ46 Γ AIN rather than δι πάσας as ρ58 θλ.  
5 τας δι]νακτας with ρ46 Γ AIN: δονακτας ρ46<sup>7</sup> ρ58 ut vid. θλ. See CPF L2<sup>88</sup> on ρ46.1802 (p. 595).  
6 α]ταλογισαμε]ρους with ρ46<sup>7</sup> Γ θλ: -λογισομένους ρ46 (*prima manus*) AIN.  
7 εν: a new but inferior variant. ἐξ ρ46 Γ θλ: δα' AIN. Cf. *Phil.* 122 ἐξ αυτων 5145 Γ AIN: εν' αυτων Θ.  
7-8 γεγενημε]ας supplied with ρ46<sup>7</sup> Γ: γενησομένης AIN: γενησομένης θλ. See CPF L2<sup>88</sup> on ρ46.1803-4 (pp. 595-6). The spacing here does not point decisively to any one of the attested variants.

M. J. ANDERSON

5141. ISOCRATES, *DE PACE* 38-9

15 2B.42/C(1)

× 9.2 cm

Second/third century

The top of a column of a papyrus roll, with parts of 13 lines and upper margin preserved to a height of 2.2 cm. A line contained 20-25 letters. The column will have been 2.6 cm wide. The back is blank.

The text is written along the fibres, in an elegant, semi-cursive hand, with serifs and small hooks regularly added to uprights and obliques. The letters are medium-sized and upright. ε is narrow. ρ descends below the line, and the upright of φ is very tall, almost filling the interlineal spaces above and below, and contrasting with the letter's flattened oval loop. Other distinctive forms are θ with a broad cross-bar extending beyond its body in both directions, κ with upright and upper branch made in a single movement, looped at the foot, and cursive ζ. This hand can be placed alongside others affiliated to the Chancery Style, such as those of 5139 (Isoc. *Nic.*; π/π), with which it was found, and LXVI 4505 (pl. xiv; π/π).

There are no lectional signs, but a possible example of blank space used as punctuation (10).

The papyrus has a different word order from that of all other witnesses at 6-7 and 8 10.

προς υμας απεχθει]αν δοκ]ει (S38)  
μεν γαρ μοι βελτιο]ν ειναι δι[α  
λεχθηναι περι αυ]των ορα [δ ν  
μας χαλεπωτερον] διατιθεμ]ε  
3 νους προς τους επι]τημον]τας  
η προς τους αιτιου]ς γεγενημ]ε[  
99 νους των κακων ο]ν μιν αλλ α]ιτι  
χινθετην αν ει με]λλον φροντι]α  
5 ζων της εμαυτου] δόξης η τη]ς  
10 κωιτης σωτηριας φ]ανειν εν [ε  
μιν μιν ουν εργο]ν εντι κ]αι  
των αλλων των κη]δησομενω]ν  
της πολεως προ]ραρισει]θαι τ]ων

- 2 μεν restored with ρ46 Γ θλ on grounds of space: om. AIN.  
3-4 In the lacuna, δ υμας (with ρ46 Γ θλ) or δε υμας (with AIN).  
5 A short cross-stroke touches ι on the left near the foot.  
6 προς om. ρ46.  
6-7 γεγενημε]νους των κακων: τῶν κακῶν γεγενημένων ρ46 codd. The usual word order is defended by *De bigis* 14 τοῖς αἰτίοις τῶν συμφορῶν γεγενημένους; cf. also *Plat.* 32 τοῦς ἄπαι τοῖς ἑλλοις αἰτίοις τῆς σωτηρίας γενομένοις. In such expressions, we expect γεγενημένος to come at the end: see CPF L2<sup>88</sup> on ρ46.1344-5 (pp. 587-8). (WBH)

8-10 φ]ανειν is here uniquely placed at the end of the sentence. ρ46 and the primary medieval manuscripts have it before με]λλον (8). Dr Henry notes: 'φανείν belongs immediately after ε: cf. *Panath.* 22 εἰ φανείν σπουδάζων κτλ. The text as given in the papyrus would be in danger of being understood as meaning "if, being more concerned (i.e. inasmuch as I am more concerned) . . .": cf. *Antid.* 44 εἰ, πολλοὶ αἰσθησῶσι ὅτι κτλ. Isocrates could not reasonably expect a reader to go back and re-assess the construction on reaching φανείν at the end of the sentence. If the undesirable ambiguity is to be avoided, φανείν must come first.'

- 9 The high speck at the right-hand edge cannot belong to c. Its function is not clear.  
10 The short blank space after φ]ανειν may have been intended as punctuation.  
10-11 ε]μιν μιν restored with [ρ46] Γ (ἡμοὶ μὲν θ): ἡμῶν AIN λ.  
11 εντι with Γ: εντι ρ46 AIN θλ.  
12 κη]δησομενω]ν with Γ AIN: κη]δησομένων θλ.

R.-L. CHANG

5142. ISOCRATES, *DE PACE* 127, 130

38 3B.84/G(1-3)c

3 × 3.5 cm

Fourth century

A fragment of a papyrus codex leaf with six line-ends on the → side and seven line-beginnings on the ↓ side. The papyrus breaks off just before the right-hand margin on the → side except at 6, where a little of the margin is preserved, while the line-beginning is indicated at ↓ 3-7 by the presence of oblique strokes in the margin. On average, the line-length will have been about 13 cm, with about 29 letters per line. A page will have contained 30-31 lines. Five lines and the interlinear space underneath occupy an area about 3 cm high. The written area will thus have been approximately 13 × 19 cm. Of the codices listed by Turner in *Typology*, those with similar dimensions (written area only) and date are XIII 1599 and IX 1170, classified under Group 4 and among the aberrants of Group 6 respectively (*Typology* 16, 18).

The text is written in an informal, upright, basically bilinear hand related to Biblical Majuscule. There is considerable irregularity in letter formation: e.g. ο can be vertically compressed (e.g. → 4) or fill the space between the notional upper and lower lines (→ 3); a similar variation is seen in ε (→ 5, ↓ 3). Cross-strokes and the oblique of η are thinner than other strokes. The descender of γ may curve slightly to the left at the foot. λ is triangular with a more or less horizontal crossbar. The upright of τ joins its crossbar rather to the right of its mid-point. There is some resemblance to the hands of the parchment codices P. Ant. II 82 (pl. IV; *Isoc. Hel.* [p66]) and XIII 1621 (pl. v; *GBEP* 13b), both assigned to the fourth century.

There are no lectional signs. A supralinear bar replaces υ at line-end (→ 4). Single oblique strokes are found to the left of most, perhaps all, lines on the ↓ side. Their precise function here is impossible to determine: see K. McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri* (1992) 17-18.

There is a correction at → 6, and a supralinear addition, perhaps another correction, at ↓ 2. The latter involves a variant found only here and in p46.

→

τοσουτον εκεινου διανηνο]χρασι [ (S127)  
 ωστε λεγειν μεν τολμασι ω]ς δια την [
 των κοινων επιμελειαν ου] θνηνται [
 5 αυτων ιδιοις προσεχει]ν τον νοϋ [
 φαινεται δε τα μεν αμελου]μνα τοσαν [
 την ειληφота την επιδοσαν] [ ] ερη ου [

↓

ειων [και των εντευθεν λημματων ν (S130)  
 ] φ αυτοϋς [δια την ενδειαν ηρακασι  
 ], ους ει]ναι και πολλην χαριν εχον  
 ], τας ταις ειςαγγελιαις και ταις γραφαις  
 5 ], και ταις α]λλαις ευκοφανταις ταις δι  
 ], αυτων χ[υρονομασι εν ους ταις απο (S131)  
 ], ]ραις εν αις δυναστευσι εν ταυταις

→

2 τολμασι (codd.) suits the space better than τολμασι (p46).

4 αυτων: om. p46.

νοϋ: i.e., νοησι).

6 [ ]ερη: the letter on the line (possibly η) is crossed out. Although ο is small, the shape and ink suggest that there is no change of hand.

↓

1-2 Oblique strokes may have stood at the beginnings of these lines too.

2 αυτοϋς. The mediaeval manuscripts have the dative (αυτοις Γ, αυτοις ΑΠΠ), while p46 has αυτου corrected to αυτων. The superscript ι in our papyrus seems to have been added by the original scribe. As the upslon on the line is not deleted (contrast the correction in → 6), this may be either a correction or an indication of an alternative reading. The latter may be more plausible, since both φ' αυτοις and φ' αυτους may signify subjection, though Isocrates uses the dative in this sense, especially when the prepositional phrase is governed by εδωκεν or γιγνεσθαι. There is a similar variant at *Pmath.* 166 (φ' αυτοις] vs' αυτοις Θ, φ' αυτοις Λ).

6-7 Restored exempli gratia.

R.-L. CHANG

5143. ISOCRATES, *DE PACE* 127-8

22 3B.20/H(0)

2.5 × 4 cm

First century BC/first century AD

A fragment of a papyrus roll, with the ends of seven lines written along the fibres. There are between 19 and 27 letters in each line. The column will have been roughly 7 cm wide. On the back, against the fibres and in a different cursive hand, there are three line-ends.

The hand is an untidy semi-cursive. It resembles that of XIV 1635 (pl. II; also Schubart, *Griechische Paläographie* Abb. 21, p. 45; Cavallo-Maehler, *Hellenistic Bookhands* 85), which dates from 44-30 BC (see BL VII 140), though 1635 has a more polished appearance, and some of its letter forms are different (in particular μ and τ). These papyri share a distinctive cursive form of λ, found again in 5166 (c.20

bc., but recurring in e.g. XXIII 2367 (commentary on Bacchylides) and LXV 4443 (LXX Esther), both plausibly assigned to the late first or second century. A date in the second half of the first century bc or the earlier first century ad will not be far off the mark.

No lectional signs are present. A blank space is used as punctuation (2).

There is a case of haplography (shared with p46) in  $\gamma$ . The assimilation of  $\nu$  to  $\gamma$  before the velar stop  $\gamma$  in 2-3 is rather characteristic of Hellenistic papyri; see 5148 I 9-10 n.

Among published papyri of Isocrates, only p33 (P. Lips. inv. 1456; late iii bc), p65/p98 (P. Yale II 103; both early iii bc, on either side of the same roll), and P. Toronto inv. F4107 (APF 54 (2008) 153-60; iii bc) certainly predate 5143.

ραθιμως ἀλλ ὀδυρμαῖ]ν με (§127)  
 στῆν εἰναι τὴν πολί]ν οἱ μεγ §128  
 γαρ τὰς πενίας καὶ τὰ]ς ἐνδείας  
 ἀναγκαζόνται διεξι]ναι καὶ θρη  
 νειν πρὸς σφας αὐτοῦ]ς οἱ δε το  
 πλῆθος τῶν προσταγ]μάτων  
 καὶ τῶν λειτουργιῶν καὶ] τὰ κα τὰ

6 προσταγ]μάτων restored with p46 ΔΠ by reason of space: πραγμάτω Γ Ν, 'an error due to a misunderstood abbreviation; cf. *Ad Nic.* 17 with CPF I.2<sup>a</sup> on p17 IX 1 (p. 418) (WBH).

The curved stroke in the lower part of Ν looks more like an accidental extension of the right-hand upright than a correction.

7 τῶν restored with p46 Γ on grounds of space: om. ΑΠΝ.

τὰ ἐπ, ἰ ἄ κακῆ. The phrase is omitted in ΑΠΝ. The haplography found here occurs also in p46. The sequence κακῆτα could be mistaken for the preposition κατὰ.

R.-L. CHANG

#### 5144-6. ISOCRATES, PHILIPPUS

This section presents three papyri of this work, the first to appear from Oxyrhynchus. Only three other ancient manuscripts have been published: P. Toronto inv. F4107 (ed. APF 54 (2008) 153-60; M-P<sup>3</sup> 1268.11), a cartonnage fragment of unknown provenance assigned to the third century bc and containing §§1-2; P. Rain. III 40 (p96 in CPF I.2<sup>\*\*</sup>; M-P<sup>3</sup> 1269), from the Fayum, remains of a leaf of a fourth-century parchment codex containing §§38-9, 40-42; and MPER II 74-6 (p97; M-P<sup>3</sup> 1270), also from the Fayum, a fragment of a book-roll of the second century containing §§114-17; cf. also IV 683 (p126T; M-P<sup>3</sup> 2194.1), a second-century fragment of an unknown historiographical work quoting §97.

The primary mediaeval manuscripts are Γ and four manuscripts of the second family, ΘΑΙΝ; see the discussion of the manuscript tradition in CPF I.2\* pp. xviii-xxxiv. Collations of ΓΘΑΠ were published by H. Buermann, *Die hand schriftliche Überlieferung des Isokrates* i (1885) 16-28; see also A. Martin, *RPh* 19 (1895) 191 (for Γ); E. Drerup, *De codicum Isocretorum auctoritate* (Leipziger Studien xvii/1, 1895) 40-46, and *Philol.* 55 (1896) 660-66 (for Α). Θ (Laur. Plut. 87.14) and N (Laur. Plut. 58.5) have been collated afresh from the digital images on the library's website. Dr Pinto has provided collations of the remaining primary manuscripts for the parts represented in the new fragments. Minor orthographical variants are not always reported. C. Muenscher (i.e. K. Münscher), *Quaestiones Isocretae* (diss. Göttingen 1895), is cited as 'Münscher'.

#### 5144. ISOCRATES, PHILIPPUS 70-77, 79-80, 101-5

Fr. 1 and 3: 98 3B.86/N(4-5)a Fr. 1 4.9 × 25.8 cm Fourth century  
 Fr. 2: 98 3B.85/K(1-2)a Fr. 2 4.6 × 5.8 cm; Fr. 3 13.8 × 21 cm

Three fragments from a single-column papyrus codex. Fr. 1 is a tall strip preserving about half the width of a column and its full height (36/7 lines = c.18 cm), with an upper margin of c.2.8 cm and a lower margin of c.5.2 cm. Fr. 2 is relatively small and preserves parts of 11/12 lines on each side. It belongs to the leaf following that represented by fr. 1 and begins eight lines down the column. Fr. 3 preserves parts of the first 29 lines of a column, up to full width (c.6.5 cm) in places, but a good portion of its upper half has been destroyed. Calculation indicates that it belongs to the fifth leaf after that represented by fr. 2. Its inner margin measures c.4 cm, its outer one c.1.3 cm. Each line holds about 22 letters.

The dimensions of the codex fit Turner's Group 8 ('B half H, B14/12 × H30/25' cm), most of whose representatives belong to the third and fourth centuries; see E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (1977) 20-21, 24. It was probably a single-quire codex, like most codices in this group (Turner, *Typology* 24, 58). If it contained only the *Philippus*, letter count suggests that the speech would have covered 60 pages = 30 leaves = 15 sheets. In that case fr. 2 would come from the exact middle of the codex (leaf 15), and the alternation of fibres from ↓→↓→ in the first 'half' (i.e. fr. 1 and 2 = leaves 14 and 15) to →↓ in the second 'half' (i.e. fr. 3 = leaf 20) would strengthen the hypothesis that this was a single-quire codex; cf. Turner, *Typology* 57, 65.

The hand is small, rapid, and leans heavily to the right. Bilinearity is minimal. The letters are very densely crowded, with occasional ligatures (e.g. η and β in fr. 1 → γ; π and ο in fr. 1 → 31), and are so rapidly executed that they often approach informality. λ is in one movement, narrow, and with an oval-shaped loop; ϖ is tall, with its two loops separate from each other; Δ is so oval that its two sides often do not meet in an apex; ε ο ο c are narrow (but c often has an extended cap); z is in

two strokes, sometimes with detached upper horizontal; η is h-shaped; λ's second leg stops at mid-height; μ is deep and broad; the oblique of ν and the arms of κ sometimes approach the horizontal; α is cursive; π is broad, with its horizontal projecting in both directions; τ sometimes has a split top; ω is broad, with a pronounced central cusp. Some letters have hooked serifs (e.g. θ, η, ι, κ). The hand is generally similar to that of P. Mich. inv. 1570 (*GEBEP* 4b, from a codex of Matthew), which is assigned to the first half of the fourth century on the basis of comparable documentary scripts.

The right and left margins are not very even, as letters at line beginning and end are often enlarged and their horizontals (especially at line end) prolonged beyond the notional margin. One can observe in fr. 1 ↓ that the beginnings of lines make a progressive shift to the left ('Maas's Law').

The scribe does not write iota adscript, accents, or punctuation. An inorganic diaeresis appears over initial υ in fr. 1 → 8, fr. 2 ↓ 10. Nu is sometimes written as a suprascript bar at line end. Line-fillers in fr. 1 → 13, 20. In most cases elisions are tacitly effected, but there are two exceptions (fr. 2 → 11 τε εταιρους; fr. 3 → 16 ωστε κεινω). Orthographical mistakes are mainly limited to iotacistic confusion of ει and ι, especially in the aorist optative.

Besides the usual mixture of readings known from the two main families of medieval manuscripts (including agreements in possible error with ΘΑΙΝ in fr. 1 ↓ 5-6, 10-11, 12, → 28, and with Γ in fr. 1 → 2-3), 5144 offers a number of new readings. That at fr. 1 ↓ 20 is uncertain due to the state of the papyrus but is likely to be corrupt. Two variants are viable but not necessarily improvements on the familiar text: fr. 1 → 32 ετι δε και for ετι δε; fr. 3 → 27-8 συνκαταλύσαι for καταλελύθει. The rest are indefensible or obvious corruptions: fr. 1 ↓ 16 θ' υπερβαλλούσας omitted; fr. 1 ↓ 17-18 οί προειρημένοι for τὰ προειρημένα; fr. 2 ↓ 11 προσέλετο for προείλετο; fr. 3 → 20-21 μὴ νῆ Δία for τὸν ευρωπατοῦν γο μὴ Ἰδρίαε for τὸν ευρωπατοῦν; fr. 3 → 28 second article omitted; fr. 3 ↓ 6 τε τ' ἄλλων for τ(ε) ἄλλων; fr. 3 ↓ 2-3 διαβαίνους for διαβαίης; fr. 3 ↓ 23 και μέγιστα omitted. Three of these cases involve ditography (fr. 1 ↓ 20, fr. 3 → 21, fr. 3 ↓ 6).

I am much obliged to Dr W. Benjamin Henry for several helpful suggestions and to Dr Daniela Colomo for her restoration work on fr. 3.

Fr. 1 ↓

δ]ικαις μη προσ[ερον τι πα (§70)  
 θης; πρην; τελο[ς επιβαιναι  
 τοις πατρω[μένοις ων γι §71  
 γνομένων π[ως ουκ αν εικο  
 τως μεγα φρονητες πως δε  
 ουχι περιχρησ[αν τον βιον  
 διατελοης τηλ[ικουτων σε  
 αυτον ειδους π[ραγματων  
 επιστατην γεγ[νημενον τις  
 δ ουκ αν των κα[ι μετρικω λογι  
 10 ζεσθαι δυναμε[νων ταυτας  
 αν κοι μαλιστα [παρανεσει  
 προαιρεσθαι τ[ων πραξεων  
 τας αμφοτερα[(.) φερειν αμα  
 15 δυναμεως ω[στε καρπους  
 ηδονας και τιμ[εα μεγαττας  
 απεχρη θ αν μ[οι οι προειρη  
 20 μνοι περι τ[αυτων ει μη πα  
 ραλελοιτως η[ν τυνα λογον  
 ουκ αναγαμ[ c.9 αλ  
 λ οκνησας ειπ[ειν ον ηδη μοι  
 δοκω δηλωσειν [οιμαι γαρ κοι  
 τε συμφερειν [ακουσαι περι αυ  
 των εμοι τε προσ[εικεν μετα  
 25 παρηρησας ωσπ[ερ ειδικμαι ποι  
 ειςθαι τους λογου[ς αιθανομαι  
 73 γαρ σε διαβαλλο[μενον υπο  
 των κοι μεν φ[θονουστων  
 τας δε πολεις τ[ας αυτων ει  
 30 θ[ις]μενων εις τ[αραχας καθι  
 ε[τα]ναι και την [ειρηνην  
 τ[η]ν τοις αλλοις κ[οι]νην πο  
 λεμον τοις αυτω[ν] ιδιοις εινας  
 νομιζοντων οι [παστων των  
 35 αλλων αμελησ[α]ντες περι  
 της της δυναμ[ει]ω λεγουσιν ως



Fr. 1 →

ουχ υπερ τη[ς] Ἑλλαδος ἀλλ' ἐ  
 πι ταυτην ἀν]ξαεται και συ  
 5 5 χρον[ο]ν ἤδη πασιν ἡ  
 μιν ἐπιβουλε]νεῖς και λογω με[ν] (ν)  
 5 μελλεις Μεσση]νιοις βοθηειν §74  
 εαν τα περι Φω]κεας διοικησ[ε]  
 εργα δ' υπο σεαυ]τω ποιεῖσθαι Πε  
 λοποννησο]ν ὑπαρχουσιν δε και  
 10 Θετταλοι μεν] και Θηβαιοι και  
 παντες οἱ τη[ς] Ἀμφικτυονιας  
 μετεχοντες] εἰστικοι κυνακο  
 15 λουθεν Ἀργείο]ι δε και Μεσση  
 νιοι και Μεγαλ]σπολειται και <  
 των ἄλλων πο]λλοι κυπολεμι(ν)  
 και ποιειν ἀν]αρτατους Δακεβ[α]  
 20 μονιους ἦν δε] ταυτα πραξ[η]  
 ως και των ἄλλ]ων Ἑλλήνων  
 ραδιος κρατη]εις ταυτα φληα  
 25 ρουντες και φα]σκοντες ακριβως  
 ειδεναῖ και τα]χεως ἀπαντα <  
 τω λογω κατασ]τρεφομενοι  
 πολλους πειθ]ουσιν και μαλις  
 30 τα μεν του[ς] τῶν ἀγῶν κα  
 κων ἐπιθυμο]ντας ὡπερ οἱ  
 λογοποιοι]ντες ἐπειτα δε και  
 35 τους ουδενι λο]γικῶμω χρωμε  
 νους υπερ τ]ῶν κοινῶν ἄλλα  
 πανταπασί]ν ἀνοητως δια  
 κειμενος κ]αι πολλήν χαριν  
 40 εχοντας τοῖς] ὑπ[ε]ρ αὐτῶν φο  
 βεισθαι και δεδιεναῖ] προσποι  
 ουμειοσι ἐτι] δε και τους οὐκ α  
 ποδοκιμα]ζοντας το δοκειν  
 45 ἐε ἐπιβουλε]ναι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν  
 ἄλλα τῆν αἰτια]ν ταυτην ἀξίαν  
 ἐπιθυμιας εἶ]ναι νομιζοντας  
 50 οἱ τοσούτου ἀ]φεςτασι του νουν §76

Fr. 2 ↓

δραδεστερον αυτον και] πλεῖ  
 5 στος αξιον δοκειν εἶναι π]οιησι  
 εν ει δε των ἀφ' Ἡρακλειου[ς] τινε  
 5 πεφυκωτων ος ἀπασ[ε]ρ κα]τε  
 τη της Ἑλλαδος ευεργητ]ε ἐπι  
 φεροῖ τῆν αἰτιαν] ταυτην εἰς τη(ν)  
 10 μεγιστην αἰσ]χην αν αυτον  
 καταστην] τις γαρ οὐκ αν αγα  
 15 νκτησειε και] μειησειεν ει φανου  
 το τουτοις ἐπι]βουλευαν ὑπερ ω(ν)  
 ο προγονος αυτ]ου προσειλετο κει(ν) §77

Fr. 2 →

5 δε[(?) παρα μικρον ηγρῖσθαι το  
 παρ[α] (α?) πασιν ευδοκιμειν  
 ἀλ[λ]α τοτε νομι]ζειν καλην ε  
 5 χειν [και μεγαλην τῆν δοσαν  
 και π]ροπονσαν σοι και τοῖς σοῖς  
 προ]γονοῖς και τοῖς υἱ ἡμων  
 10 πεπραγμα]μενοισιν οταν ουτω  
 διαβῆς του[ς] Ἑ[λλ]ληνας ὡσπερ  
 15 ορας Λακεδαμο]νιους τε προς  
 τους εαυτων βασιλ]εας εχον  
 20 τας τοῖς τε εταῖρους [τους σοῖς  
 προς σε διακειμ]ενοῦς §80

Fr. 3 →

5 τους τῶν δεσ[φ]ου τουτου]ν συν  
 αγαγων] γαρ θ[ι]ναμιν] εσπν  
 10 οιος τ ἦν πλειστην και] στρα  
 τευκας ἐπ αυτους ἀπηλ]θεν ε  
 15 κειθεν ου μονον ἦττη]θεις  
 ἄλλα και καταγελασθ]εις και  
 20 δοξας ουτε βασιλευειν ο]ντε §(101)

- 10  $\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\eta\kappa\epsilon\iota\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota\tau\alpha$  §102  
 $\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\lambda\iota\upsilon\sigma\iota\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\epsilon\text{Κυπ}\tau\iota\rho\omicron\nu\kappa\alpha\iota\text{Φοι}$   
 $\nu\eta\kappa\eta\eta\kappa\alpha\iota\text{Κιλι}\kappa\iota\alpha\kappa\iota\alpha\kappa\iota\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$   
 $\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\upsilon\alpha\iota\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\omega\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\chi\rho\alpha\upsilon$   
 $\tau\omicron\kappa\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\iota\kappa\omega\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\upsilon\eta\eta\mu\epsilon$   
 $\tau\alpha\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma\gamma\upsilon\upsilon\delta\epsilon\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon\upsilon\alpha$   
 15  $\phi\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\tau\alpha\delta\epsilon\upsilon\pi\theta\lambda\epsilon\mu\omega$   
 $\kappa\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\iota\varsigma\tau\omicron\sigma\upsilon\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\tau\iota\upsilon$   
 $\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\omega\sigma\mu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\upsilon$   
 $\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\epsilon\theta\eta\omega\alpha\upsilon$   
 $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\iota\mu\omicron\kappa\omicron\iota\delta\eta\eta\pi\theta\lambda\epsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\upsilon\upsilon$   
 20  $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\theta\eta\varsigma\epsilon\upsilon\mu$  §103  
 $\phi\omicron\rho\omega\varsigma\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\iota\omega\kappa\alpha\iota\mu\eta\gamma\eta\delta\iota\alpha$   
 $\gamma\iota\epsilon\tau\tau\omicron\epsilon\upsilon\rho\omega\pi\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu$   
 $\nu\eta\eta\eta\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\eta\eta\eta\pi\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma$   
 $\eta\kappa\epsilon\iota\delta\upsilon\epsilon\varsigma\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\iota$   
 25  $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma\pi\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha\iota$   
 $\tau\omega\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\pi\theta\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\eta\pi\alpha\upsilon$   
 $\tau\omega\gamma\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\iota\tau\chi\epsilon\lambda\iota\omega\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$   
 $\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\iota\tau\omicron\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\upsilon$   
 $\kappa\alpha\iota\tau\rho\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\eta\eta\eta\alpha\rrho\chi\eta\alpha\iota\kappa\iota$   
 $\kappa\alpha\mu\epsilon\lambda\eta\eta\eta\mu\epsilon\upsilon\tau\tau\omicron\alpha\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$

Fr. 3 ↓

- καθ  $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$   $\epsilon\eta\gamma\iota\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\alpha$  (§104)  
 $\nu\alpha\pi\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\gamma\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\delta\iota\alpha\beta\alpha\iota$   
 $\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma\tau\eta\upsilon\eta\pi\epsilon\iota\lambda\omicron\nu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota$   
 $\nu\omicron\varsigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\alpha\sigma\epsilon\mu\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\iota\delta\omicron\iota\beta\omicron\theta\eta$   
 5  $\theta\omicron\nu\eta\eta\kappa\epsilon\iota\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\epsilon\epsilon\nu\omicron\mu\iota\zeta\omega\alpha\upsilon\upsilon$   
 $\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\alpha\varsigma\alpha\tau\tau\rho\alpha\tau\omega\alpha\upsilon$   
 $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\tau\eta\sigma\epsilon\eta\eta\upsilon\pi\omicron$   
 $\epsilon\chi\eta\tau\eta\eta\eta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\rho\iota\alpha\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$   
 $\kappa\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\eta\mu\alpha\tau\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\delta\iota\alpha\varsigma\pi\epsilon\iota$   
 10  $\rho\eta\kappa\epsilon\iota\tau\eta\eta\text{Α}\iota\alpha\iota\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\iota\kappa\iota\varsigma$   
 $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\text{Ε}\lambda\lambda\eta\eta\sigma\alpha\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$   
 $\kappa\alpha\iota\tau\eta\eta\eta\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\iota\tau\eta\upsilon$   
 $\lambda\alpha\kappa\epsilon\delta\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\iota\omega\alpha\upsilon\alpha\rrho\chi\eta\eta\kappa\alpha$   
 $\tau\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\varsigma\epsilon\upsilon\tau\eta\delta\alpha\upsilon\alpha\pi\lambda\epsilon\omega\lambda\epsilon\chi\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon$  §105

- 15  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\chi\kappa\iota\sigma\iota\omicron\upsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\tau\rho\omicron\pi\omicron$   
 $\lambda\epsilon\mu\omega\eta\tau\alpha\chi\iota\tau\alpha\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\gamma\epsilon$   
 $\nu\omicron\iota\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma\delta\eta$   
 $\nu\alpha\mu\epsilon\omega\varsigma\eta\upsilon\delta\epsilon\phi\omicron\beta\omicron\upsilon\theta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$   
 $\mu\eta\tau\eta\eta\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\pi\tau\epsilon\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\omega\iota\varsigma$   
 20  $\eta\mu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\upsilon\pi\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon$   
 $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\mu\epsilon\omega\varsigma\tau\omega\alpha$   
 $\tau\omega\iota\omega\tau\iota\kappa\omega\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\tau\omicron\lambda\mu\omega\sigma\eta\upsilon$   
 $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omega\pi\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma\tau\alpha\delta\iota\alpha$   
 $\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\epsilon\omega\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon$   
 25  $\mu\omicron\nu\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\mu\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$   
 $\tau\omega\alpha\upsilon\delta\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\mu\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\upsilon\eta\tau\lambda\epsilon\varsigma$   
 $\omega\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\delta\epsilon\tau\omega\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\upsilon$   
 $\eta\gamma\omega\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon$   
 $[\dots][\dots][\dots]$

Fr. 1 ↓

- 1  $\delta\epsilon\delta\omega\iota\kappa\iota$  rightly with Γ (-*locus*) Θ (-*uāc*):  $\delta\epsilon\delta\omega\iota\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$  Λ,  $\delta\epsilon\delta\omega\iota\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$  ΠΠΝ.  
 3–4  $\alpha\upsilon\gamma\eta\gamma\eta\mu\omicron\mu\epsilon\omega\upsilon$  rightly with ΓΘ:  $\alpha\omicron\varsigma\gamma\iota\mu\omicron\mu\epsilon\omega\iota\varsigma$  ΛΠΠΝ.  
 5–6  $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\chi\iota$  with ΘΑΠΠΝ (δ' N): δ'  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$  Γ.  $\delta\alpha\upsilon$ , necessary with the potential optative *διατελοίης*, could be understood from the previous sentence (cf. K.-G. i 248–9), but the anaphoric style here favours its repetition with *πῶς αὐκ*. Isocrates, moreover, does not seem to use *οὐκ* elsewhere. One may compare πτ's *πῶς οὐκ* in place of *ὅπως οὐ καὶ* at *Nic* 3, which Worp-Rijkssbaron, *The Kallias Isocrates Codex* (1997) 231, consider a corruption.  
 7–8  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\epsilon\iota\delta\omega\iota\varsigma\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\alpha\iota\epsilon\iota\delta\omega\iota\varsigma$  ΘΑΠΠΝ:  $\epsilon\iota\delta\omega\iota\varsigma\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\alpha\iota$  Γ. The rules of syllabification necessitate the restoration of the trisyllabic, uncontracted form of the reflexive pronoun, for which compare fr. 2 → 10 *εἰπαυτο*; cf. LXIX 4717 p. 11.12 n. and CPF L2<sup>88</sup> on p80 I 8 (pp. 706–7). Mutschler 43 argues for Γ's word order.  
 10–11  $\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\zeta\epsilon\theta\alpha\delta\upsilon\alpha\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$  with ΘΑΠΠΝ:  $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\zeta\omicron\mu\epsilon\omega\upsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$  Γ. The reading here was perhaps influenced by *φέρων . . . δυναμένως* a little further on in the same sentence, or arose as a gloss on  $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\zeta\omicron\mu\epsilon\omega\upsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ . Γ's reading is better as it avoids the close repetition of the participle.  
 12  $\mu\alpha\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\eta\pi\rho\alpha\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$  with ΘΑΠΠΝ (*παραινέων* ΠΠΝ): *παραινέων μάλιστα* Γ. The latter word order is undoubtedly the correct one, for *μάλιστα* is to be taken with both *προαιρέσεια* and *παραινέσεια* (so Mutschler 43).  
 14  $\alpha\mu\phi\omicron\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha$  ( ):  $\alpha\mu\phi\omicron\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha$  ΓΘ:  $\alpha\mu\phi\omicron\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\Lambda$  ΠΠΠΝ:  $\alpha\mu\phi\omicron\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\kappa\omicron\iota$  Λ'. Because of the break it is impossible to determine what the papyrus had (*ἀμφοτέρως*, at any rate, is wrong).  
 15  $\delta\upsilon\eta\mu\epsilon\omega\varsigma$  rightly with ΓΘΑΠΠΝ:  $\delta\upsilon\eta\mu\epsilon\omega\iota\varsigma$  Π'.  
 $\omega\epsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\kappa\alpha\iota\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\Lambda^{\mu}$ :  $\omega\epsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\Lambda^{\nu}$ :  $\omega\epsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\delta\eta\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\Lambda^{\nu}$  (conjecture).  
 16  $\theta\eta\rho\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha$  (l. *τιμάς*)  $\mu\epsilon\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma$ . The primary MSS at this point have  $\theta\eta\rho\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha\theta\eta'$  (τε ΘΑΠΠΝ)  $\theta\epsilon\rho\beta\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma$  (-βαλοῦσας Θ)  $\kappa\alpha\iota\tau\eta\mu\alpha\mu\epsilon\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma$  ( $\mu\epsilon\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma$  om.  $\Lambda^{\mu}$  in lat.:  $\delta\eta\epsilon\phi\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\Lambda^{\nu}$  (conjecture)).  $\theta'$   $\theta\epsilon\rho\beta\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma$  will have been left out by a *sauz dit mème* or *mème* as a result of the succession of feminine plural accusative endings in -ac.  
 17  $\alpha\pi\epsilon\chi\eta\eta$  with ΠΠΠΝ:  $\alpha\pi\epsilon\chi\eta\rho\omicron\nu$  Θ:  $\alpha\pi\omega\chi\eta\eta$  Λ.

ὄ μν μοι with ΑΙΝ, δ' δ' ἄ μν μοι Θ; δ' ἄ ἦδη μοι Γ. The last preserved trace is too exiguous to guarantee either η or μ, but ἦδη μοι would be too long for the available space. Γ's addition was perhaps a copying mistake resulting from the influence of ἄ ἦδη μοι a little further on in the same sentence (cf. Blass, *Prolegomena editionis altioris* p. vi), but for a defence of such repetitions see Drexler's edition, pp. lxxvi–lxxix (especially p. lxxix for the reading here).

17–18 οἱ προσηρμένοι: new reading. All primary MSS have τὰ προσηρμένα (except that Θ omits προ-). The variant οἱ προσηρμένοι (sc. λόγος) is impossible with singular ἀπέργη and perhaps arose from the influence of the immediately preceding μοι and the anticipation of τὴν λόγον in the following clause (cf. also ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς λόγους further on in the same paragraph). For the corruption to the masculine, cf. *Ad Nic.* 52, where the reading of the second family (and apparently of 5135 II 12–13) ἐπὶ τὸ ὁμολογούμενον ἔλθονα has become ἐπι τὸν ὁμολογούμενον ἔλθονα in p1 and Wotry-Rijkhsbaron, *The Kallias Inscriptions* Col. 209, wonder whether λόγους is to be understood from the context.

18 ποιεῖ τῶνον: om. ΑΓ in lac.; πῶνον ΑΓ (conjecture).  
20 οὐκ ἀναγὰς εἰς: οὐκ ἀναμνηστικὰς ΓΘΑΙΝ; οὐκ ἴσως μνηστικὰ ΑΓ. ὁσῶν μὲν ἀναμνηστικὰς ΑΓ (conjecture). There is room for the expected ἀναμνηστικὰς αλ at the end of the line, even before it may be a product of confusion with ἀναμνη- combined with dittography; for a similar dittography, cf. p1's ἀναμνηστικὰς βελθεῖται at Nic. 33. Possibly the end of the word was also corrupted and the scribe intended the rare ἀναμνηστικῶν: having remembered', a verb that is unattested in the Classical period and would give the wrong sense: the opposition οὐκ . . . ἄλλ' ἔνθεν implies that Isocrates' failure to mention the point under discussion was due to his hesitation rather than forgetfulness.

20–21 ἀλλὰ ὀκνητος: omitted by ΠΝ.

23–6 ποιεῖσθαι: om. ποιεῖσθαι ΠΝ.

28 μν: omitted by Λ.

31–3 τῆς [εἰρηνης] τῆ[τῆς] τοῖς ἄλλοις [κρίνον] πολεμοῦ τοῖς αὐτοῦ [γ] ἰδίοις with ΓΘ: τῆς εἰρήνης τοῖς ἄλλοις κοινῆς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῶν ἦδ' αὐτῶν ΑΓ\* (ὄχις inserted after εἰρήνης by Λ\*), τῆς εἰρήνης τῆς τοῖς ἄλλοις κοινῆς τὸν πόλεμον τῶν αὐτῶν ἦδ' αὐτῶν ΠΝ. The paraphrase of the passage in Arist. *Rh.* 3.10, 1410b29–31 and the allusion to it by [Dem.] 12.19 support the reading of the papyrus and ΓΘ.

Fr. 1 →

2–3 εἰς [εἰς χρόνον] ἦδη παύει: οὐ πάλιν χρόνον ἦδη παύει Γ; πάλιν ἦδη χρόνον ἄπαυει Θ, εὐχρὸν ἦδη χρόνον ἄπαυει ΑΙΝ. The papyrus probably agreed with Γ in the lacuna, though εἰς χρόνον (a word not used by Isocrates) is not excluded. Isocrates is more likely to have written πάλιν ἦδη χρόνον (as at *Paneg.* 162, *De pace* 30, 36, *Hel.* 4, *Antid.* 285, *Epist.* 9.11) than πάλιν χρόνον ἦδη (cf. Münchser 32).

3–4 ἦμην: omitted by Θ.

4 ἐπιβουλεύει with ΓΘ: ἐπιβουλεύομαι ΑΠΝ.

6 μν: omitted by ΑΠΝ.

6 Φω]κεας with ΘΑΙΝ: Φωκεία Γ. See L. Thraette, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* II (1996) 227, and Seck, *Untersuchungen* 81–2.

6–7 διοικητῆς [ἐργῶν δ' ὅμο σῶσιν] restored with ΓΘ (which have the form *σαῖν*; for the restoration of trisyllabic *σαῖν*, see on fr. 1 4 7–8): ἐργῶν διοικητῆς ὑπὸ σαῖν δ' Λ, ἐργῶν διοικητῆς ὑπὸ σαῖν [σαῖν] Ν δ' ΠΝ.

8 ΑΙΝ have διασῆ after Πελοπόννησον (needing following the loss of the *λόγῳ* μὲν . . . , ἐργῶν δέ . . . contrast). The papyrus agrees with ΓΘ in construing ποιεῖσθαι with μέλλεις from the preceding clause.

13 Μεγα]πολιεῖται: I. Μεγαπολιεῖται.

14 καταλέγει: I. καταλείπει.

17 ὤς (Γ) omitted by ΘΑΙΝ but required here to fill the space. The repeated ὤς (cf. §73) is needed as an indication that Isocrates himself is not of this opinion (Münchser 43).

22 πείθουσι with Γ: πείθουσι ΘΑΙΝ.

23 μὲν after μέλεια is omitted by ΑΙΝ, but the available space indicates that the papyrus had it; it is necessary for the contrast with ἐπείνετα δὲ καλ.

25 ἔστω: only speaks of ink on a heavily abraded surface.  
25 ἔσθ' with ΓΘΑΙΝ: om. Γ\*. Münchser 21 argues that δέ is an interpolation, comparing *Ad Nic.* 2–3 μέλεια μὲν . . . ἐσθ' . . . ἐπὶ δ' . . . , but μέλεια μὲν . . . ἐπείνετα δέ καὶ . . . is found at *Paneg.* 175 and *Plat.* 63; cf. CPF L\* on p17 I B 20–21 (pp. 398–9).

26 λογιζομαι with ΓΘ: λόγῳ ΑΙΝ. λόγῳ has been used earlier in the sentence (but in the sense of 'speech'), so that λογισμὸς is preferable here. The same choice of variants recurs a few lines later in §76 (not preserved in 5144), but with the readings differently distributed among the manuscripts (λόγῳ Γ; λογιζομαι ΘΑΙΝ, sc. χράματα); there, however, the meaning 'speeches, words', i.e. λόγους, is more appropriate.

28 παντατα] with ΓΘΙΝ: παντάτας Α (hiatus).

ἀνοητος with ΘΑΙΝ: ἀνοηθῶν Γ\*; ἀνοηθῶν Γ\*. ἀνοηθῶν is perhaps better supported by C. 29ff. 9 ἀνοηθῶν . . . δόκονα, *Panath.* 85 ἀνοηθῶν διακρίων. Münchser 43 suggests that ἀνοητος (which recurs in *Panath.* 155, 232, *Epist.* 5.4) is a gloss on the less familiar ἀνοηθῶν.

32 ἐπὶ] δε κα: new reading. The primary MSS have simply ἐπὶ δέ. The phrase ἐπὶ δέ καὶ is well attested in Isocrates (C. *Loch.* 20, *Nic.* 33, 40, *Panath.* 154, *Epist.* 4.11), but in *Thap.* 40 one finds the comparable sequence πρῶτον μὲν . . . ἐπειτα δέ . . . ἐπὶ δέ (cf. also *Antid.* 151, *In Call.* 8), ἐπὶ] δε καὶ is likely to be due to the influence of ἐπειτα δε καὶ (25). Cf. for a similar variant C. *Soph.* 16 (discussed in CPF L2\*\* on p42 I 5 (p. 531)); in general on the formulae used in such sequences, see S. Ljungdahl, *De transandi generibus quibus uisus Isocrates commentatio* (1871) 43–7.

34 ce ἐπιβουλεύει restored with ΘΑΙΝ: ἐπιβουλεύει ce Γ. While the papyrus agrees with ΘΑΙΝ in word order, it is impossible to decide whether it elided ce or not (like ΘΑΙΝ), since it is not consistent in this respect (see introd.). Münchser 43 prefers the reading of Γ, as it avoids the need for elision.

35 αἴτια] restored ἐκπῆσι γῶν with ΓΑ: ἀρχή ΘΑΙΝ.

35–6 αἴτιαν [ἐπιβουλας εἶ]ναι restored with ΓΘΠΝ: ἔξιν εἶναι ἐπιβουλας εἶναι Λ.

Fr. 2 ↓

1–2 πλε]στος with ΑΠΝ: πλέτος ΓΘ. See Thraette, *Grammar* II 321, Seck, *Untersuchungen* 67–8, CPF L2\* on p17 X 9 (p. 422), and cf. fr. 3 4 14 πλετα.

2 [δοκων] restored with Γ: δοκων ἄν ΘΑΙΝ. There does not seem to be sufficient space for the particle in the lacuna. Münchser 44 argues in favour of its omission.

2–3 π]νυ]σιν: I. πνύσιν.

8–9 ΠΝ accidentally omit the apodosis *τις* . . . *μυθήσει*.

8 *αν* omitted by Γ and inserted by Γ\* above the line.

9 *μυθήσει*: I. *μυθήσαν*.

11 ο *πρῶτος* αὐτῶν restored with ΓΘΠΝ: ἀπὸ δ' ἄπρῶτος Α (hiatus).

*προσέλετο*: new reading. All primary MSS have *προσέλετο*. *προσκαρῆμαι*, however, has the sense of 'choose and associate with', 'take for one's companion/ally' (as in, for example, *Aegin.* 38, where *προσέλετο* is the reading of Γ, while for Λ has *προσέλετο* or 'choose in addition' (see LSJ s.v.)); it would not be appropriate here, where only the simple meaning 'choose' is required.

Fr. 2 →

5 Considerations of space suggest that the papyrus omitted either *καὶ* before *σοι* (with Γ\*) or *καὶ* added in the margin by Γ\* or *σοι* following *τοῖς* (with ΘΑΙΝ). *Εκπῆσι γῶν* I have opted for the former possibility in the supplemented text.

- 10 *κατωσ* with ΓΑΙΝ. *αδών* Θ.  
 11 *τε εταρσος* with ΓΘ (both θ) ΑΝ<sup>ε</sup>: *τε έτερος* ΠΙΝ<sup>ε</sup>.

Fr. 3 →

1-9 Some scattered and indeterminate traces on damaged or displaced fibres here and at 4 1-9 are not taken into account in the transcription.

1-2 *συ[σ]γαυω*: so ΓΘΑΙΝ. *συμπαρσευασάμενος* (Π<sup>ε</sup>) cannot be accommodated in the available space. The middle voice of this compound verb, also found in a variant at *C. sph. 21* (*συμπαρσευασάσθεσθαι* ΘΑ: *συμπαρσευασάσθεσθαι* Γ), has only a few late attestations, but it has been favoured by modern editors (Benseler-Blass excerpted, perhaps as a *lectio affinitatis*, *συνάγω*, however, is quite common in Isocrates, e.g. *Πρωτ.* 49 *πρωτῆς μὲν συναγωγῆτος κτλ.*, 104 *ετραστῆσθαι . . . συναγωγῆτος*. Γ's reading may have been influenced by *παρσευασῆς* in the previous line; cf. Blass, *Phaeniciae editiois alterius* p. vi. Mûnscher 14 suggests that it originated as a gloss.

2 *χαρ*: omitted by ΘΑΙΝ. Α<sup>ε</sup> attempted to heal the asyndeton by conjecture, inserting *ἄρεε* before *συναγωγῆτος* (Mûnscher 47).

3 [*πλεστην*] restored with Γ; transposed after *δύναμις* by ΘΑΙΝ, wrongly (Mûnscher 47).

12 Α<sup>ε</sup> adds *τῷ* before *καυτωσ*.

12-13 *μετῶ θεσλόμης* with ΘΑΙΝ: *βασιλικῶς* Γ.

13-14 *ἀφεςτρης* with Γ: *ἀφέστρες* ΘΑΙΝ.

16 *ωστε εκεινω*: likewise unaltered in Θ.

17 *τουτων τωρ [ε]βῶν* with Γ: *τῶν ἔβων τούτων* ΘΑΙΝ<sup>ε</sup> (τοῦτων Ν<sup>ε</sup>). Isocrates' tendency to avoid ending one word and beginning the next with the same syllable does not appear to apply to the article; cf. Drerup's edition, p. lvi, and S. Martinelli Tempesta, *Grammat.* 78 (2006) 595.

18 *coi* rightly with ΠΙΝ: *εὖ* ΘΑ.

19-20 *συμφερωσ* with ΓΘΑ<sup>ε</sup>ΠΙΝ: *συμμάχους* Α<sup>ε</sup>, apparently a conjecture (E. Drerup, *De coisactio Isocrateorum auctoritate* (Leipzig: Studien xvii/1, 1895) 43; id., *Philol.* 55 (1896) 661).

20-21 *μη γη δία [γ]ε [τ]ῶν ερωτωστων*: *μη γῆρα* (so Γ, Harpocrat. 1: 2: *γῆρα* ΘΑΙΝ) *γε τῶν ερωτωστων* MSS. The corruption of the unusual sequence *μηγῆραγε* to *μηγῆραγε* will be due to confusion with a phrase familiar in later Greek, *μη δία γε*: cf. Drerup's edition, p. lxxx (errors arising 'scriptura continua male distincta'), *ερωσ*- for *ερωτωσ*- may be due to confusion with 'Europe' in this geographical context. The dittography of *-σ-* in the superlative is a corruption paralleled in p1 (*Ad Nic.* 20 *οικεσσασ(τα)τους*, 41 *χαρισσασ(τα)των* for *χαρισσαστων*); cf. Worp-Rijksebaron, *The Kallias Isocrates Codex* 40, and fr. 1 4 20 n.

26 *γ*: omitted by ΠΙΝ.

27-Β *συνκαταλι[σ]αι*: new reading. The primary MSS have the perfect passive *καταλέλιθεσθαι*. The restoration *συνκαταλι[σ]αι* is theoretically also possible, but *-λισαι* is more likely to occur in a variant for *-λελιθεσθαι*. The active compound with *συν-* conveys the notion that Idricus would collaborate with Philip in undoing the King's empire, implying a greater role for Idricus than Isocrates appears to envisage in §104 (merely *επειδος τ' ἂν ἔμενος ἴδριος βοηθῶν ἴδριος αὐτῶν τε νομιζῶν*). It is easier, moreover, to envisage a corruption of *καταλέλιθεσθαι* to *(συν)καταλισαι* than vice versa, since one at first expects the subject of the infinitive to be the same as the subject of *βούλομαι*.

28-9 *την αρχην αικ[ε]σσε[σ]την*. Γ omitted *τῆν* before *ἀρχῆν*, but Γ<sup>ε</sup> added it above the line. The papyrus omits *-την* before *ἀναμέτρῃ*, which all primary MSS have. The omission is probably due to parephrasē (*ἀρχητηρησσεσμενην*).

Fr. 3 ↓

1-9 See above, fr. 3 → 1-9 n.  
 1: *καθ [ε]καστω* *επιμυτροσ*: so ΘΑΙΝ. Γ has *τῶν δεινῶν* (likewise in §51), but spacing would not allow it here; cf. above, fr. 3 → 17 n.

2-3 *δισβαίρουσ*: new reading. All primary MSS have *δισβαίρε*. Aspectually, the aorist is required. *δισβαίρουσ* is probably an intrusive gloss on *δισβαίρε*. Isocrates does not employ the present optative of *δισβαίρωσ*.

5 The supplement here is rather longer than those of neighbouring lines. No variants are reported for this part of the text.

10 *ε*: omitted by ΠΙΝ.

11 *τογξ [ε]λ[λ]μωσ*: *παισ* *ναισ* Α<sup>ε</sup>, *τοξσ* *δλησ* suppl. Α<sup>ε</sup>.

12-13 *την ημετεραν και την* *λαθεβῆσσαν αρχην* with Γ: *τῆν ἡμετεραν ἀρχῆν και τῆν λαθεβῆσσαν* ΘΑΙΝ. Mûnscher 47 argues for Γ's reading.

14 *πλωσ* with ΘΑΙΝ: *πλοῖον* Α. See Thraette, *Stomatop.* 311, and cf. above, fr. 2 4 1-2 n.

17-18 *βρωμωσ* with ΘΑΙΝ: *δύναμις* Π.

19 *τ[η]ρεσ* with ΘΑΙΝ: *τιε* Α<sup>ε</sup>.

*επισεμωσ*: 1. *επισεμῶσ*.

21 *μεταχειρισσασεν* with Γ: *μεταχειρισσάμενος* ΘΑΙΝ. The plural will be due to the influence of *ἡμῶν* in the preceding clause (cf. Mûnscher 47).

21-2 *των [ε]τρατησικωσ* with Γ: *τῶν στρατηγικῶν* ΘΙΝ: *στρατηγικῶν* Α.

22 *coi* *τρωμῆν*: *τῶν τολμῆν* *coi* Γ: *coi* *τολμῶμεν* ΘΑΙΝ. The final trace is too slight to guarantee either *η* or *μ*, but the first person singular form is restored because of *μεταχειρισσασεν* in 21 (see n. ad loc.). The papyrus agrees with Γ in the use of the singular rather than the plural, but with ΘΑΙΝ in word order and the omission of *νῶν*. Mûnscher 47 argues that the dative should not be separated from *παραινῶν*.

23 *π[η]ε[σ]τη*: all primary MSS have *πλεῖστα και μέγιστα*, but *καί μέγιστα* would not be possible within the available space. Its omission here is unjustifiable and is probably a copying error arising from the two identical endings in *-ετα*.

24-5 *πολ[ε]μων* restored with ΘΑΙΝ: *τὸν πόλεμον* Α. Considerations of space suggest lack of the article in 24.

28 *τοσ* *om.* Α<sup>ε</sup> in lac., *ἀρεαισ* *πρὸσ παράδειγμα* *τὸν* *add.* Α<sup>ε</sup> (conjecture).

A. BENAÏSSA

## 5145. ISOCRATES, PHILIPPUS 117-19, 121-3, 126-7

9 18.1B1/H(a)

15.5 × 18.3 cm

Second century

A fragment of a roll giving the lower parts of three consecutive columns and the lower margin. The text is written along the fibres. On the back are remains of a documentary text, written in a hand of the late second or early third century. Col. i preserves ends only from a stretch of 25 lines, occupying a space about 12 cm high; col. ii (about 13.6 cm high and 6 cm wide) preserves 28 lines, some to their full length; col. iii (about 6 cm high) preserves 13 line-beginnings. Lines will have held between 17 and 24 letters. A column will have contained c.50 lines and been about 25 cm high. The lower margin is about 4.5 cm deep. Each intercolumnium measures approximately 1.2 cm. Traces of ink are visible in the intercolumnium between cols. ii and iii: there is an upright trace at about the level of iii 4 and a few horizontal traces at about the level of iii 10. Possibly these are the remains of sigla or marginalia.

The text is written with a thick pen in a medium-sized informal round hand with some ligatures. There is some inconsistency in letter formation. α is tall, sometimes ascending well above the line; γ, π, and τ are flattened; μ is broad and rounded; ο is often very small; γ is v-shaped, sometimes with a nearly upright left-hand branch; ω has a flat or nearly flat base. A comparable hand is that of the astrological(?) text P. Tebt. Tait 45 (pl. 10), assigned to the second century, and written on the back of a document in a hand also possibly of the second century.

Paragraphus with high point is used for punctuation at ii 22 and 26 (the high point being misplaced in the second case). Iota adscript is not written. A supralinear bar replaces ν at line-end at i 23.

The papyrus agrees with the MSS of the second family against Γ in a true reading at ii 22; cf. also i 7, 8-9. It has a unique reading in ii 6-7. There is a clear agreement in genuine reading with Γ and Θ, against the remaining primary MSS of the second family, at ii 20.

There is a small overlap with p97.

## Col. i

c.23 lines missing

],  
 τας και τας πολεις και νε]φς  
 και βωμονς ιδρυμεν]ρ]υς  
 τους δ ουτ εν ταις ευχα]ς  
 5 ουτ εν ταις θυσιας τιμω]με  
 νους αλλ αποπομπα]ς αυ  
 των ημας ποιουμενου]ς . . .  
 ενθυμουμενοι εθι]ζειν] σε  
 αυτοι χρη και μελεταν] οπωρ  
 10 ετι μαλλον η νυν τοιαυ]την  
 απαντες περι ου την γ]ηω  
 ].  
 ].

(§117)

§118

μουντας περιβαλ]λεσθαι  
 15 μεν τη διανοια τας προ]αξεις  
 δυνατας μεν ευχη δ] ομοι  
 ας εξεργα]ζεσθαι δε ζ]η]τηειν  
 αυτας οπως αν οι και]ροι πα  
 ραδιδωκωιν εκ πολλων δ] αν κ]α]ι  
 20 τανοησειας οτι δ]ει τουτ]ο]ν  
 τον τροπον πραττ]ειν μα

§119

λιστα δ εκ των Ιασο]νι ευμ  
 βατων εκεινος γαρ ουδ]ε  
 τοιουτον οιον ου κατεργα]  
 25 καμενος μεμνητερ]ε δοξ]η]  
 2 lines missing

## Col. ii

c.22 lines missing

ω]ε]τε μηδεν ηπτον αυτους  
 ευ]ραι φοβερους τοις Ελλησιν  
 η το]ις βαρβαροις αν ουδεμια  
 ποιω]υμεθα προνοιαν αλλ α  
 5 γνοσ]υμεν κοινον φοβον και  
 κινθ]υνον απασιν ημιν αυ  
 ξομε]νον εστιν ουν ανδρος  
 μι]ε]ρ]α φρονουτος και φιλελ  
 λ]η]νος και πορρωτερω των αλ  
 10 λω]ν τη διανοια καθαρωντος  
 απο]χρησμενον τοις τοιου  
 [τοις προς τους βαρβαρους  
 και [χωρων αποτεμομενον  
 τ]οσαυτην οσην ολιγω προτε  
 15 ροη ειρ]ηκαμεν απαλλα  
 ξαι τε τρ]ις ξικτενομενου]ς  
 των κακω]ν ω]ν [αυτοι τ εκ]ου  
 αι και τοις αλλοις παρεχουσι  
 και πολεις εξ αυτων συζη  
 20 και και ταυταις ορισαι την  
 Ελλαδα και προ]βαλεσθαι  
 προ απαντων ημων ταυ  
 25 τα γαρ πραξας ου μενον εκει  
 νους ευδαμονας ποιησει  
 αλλα και παντας ημας εις  
 ασφαλειαν καταστρε]ει' ην  
 δ ουν τούτων δια]μαρ]της  
 αλλ εκεινο γε ρ]αδ]ιω]ς π]ο

(§121)

§122

§123

Col. iii

ε.37 lines missing

.].]

5 εεν [ωστ εξον ημιν τακεινων  
 αδεω[ς ρχειν προς ημας  
 αυτοις περι μικρων πολε  
 μουμ[εν και τους αφισταμε  
 νους [της αρχης της βασιλε  
 ως συλκαταστροφωμβα  
 και λελη[θαμεν ημιας αυτου  
 ενιοτε μετ[α [των πατριων  
 10 εχθρων τους της αυτ[ης συ  
 γεγειας με[τεχοντας απολ  
 λυμ[α ζητο]ντες διο και οι  
 ν[ο]μιζω συμ[φερειν ουτως

§126

§127

Col. i

7 [ημας] om. P<sup>s</sup>, add. Γ<sup>s</sup>.

The traces after the break are hard to interpret: first two low specks; then the right-hand part of a circle with a dot above; finally a supralinear cross-bar and on the line traces suggesting a flattened *n*. *uv* is expected but would be written in an anomalous way and leave ink unaccounted for.

8-9 ε[σ]αυτων with ΘΝ (σεαυτων) Λ (ε[ε] αυτων) Π (ε[ε] αυτων): *castrum* Γ. Cf. 5144 fr. 1 ↓ 7-8 n.

10-13 There are confused traces in 13, perhaps partly offset, and further ink in 12, again perhaps partly offset. If the papyrus offered no new reading here, the text written in these two lines would be [μην εξουιν χρη δε τους μειζονος δοξης των αλλων επιθυ].

14 περιβαλλ[ε]σθαι restored *επιθυ* *gratia* with Γ. ΘΑΙΝ have περιβαλέθει.

Col. ii

6-7 αυ[ξομ]ε[ν]ον against all the primary MSS, which have αυξανόμενον. The fluctuation between the two equivalent forms is found in §38 (αυξομένης Γ: αυξανόμενης ΘΑΙΝ), but otherwise αυξαν- is the preferred form; cf. §73 (5144 fr. 1 → 2), *Papiri* 104, *De pace* 51, *Panath.* 47, 115. Inscriptional evidence is inconclusive (Thraete, *Grammat.* ii 509). Münchener 29 (on §38) argues for αυξαν-.

16 ξενετευομενους restored with ΘΑΙΝ and Harpocrat. § 3. Γ has πολειτευομενους.

17 [αυτοι τ εχ]ου restored with ΘΑΙΠ: τ om. N.

19 ε[ε] αυτων with ΓΑΙΝ: ε[ε] αυτων Θ.

20 ορικαι with ΓΑΙΝ: χερσίδαι ΑΙΠ.

22 προ with ΘΑΙΝ: πρός Γ.

26 Through an oversight, the high stop was inserted after καταστρεχει instead of after καταστρεχει where it belongs.

28 π[ο]ρ, i.e. π[ο]ρ [ηρεαι: ποιησαι ΘΑΙΝ

P. M. PINTO

## 5146. ISOCRATES, PHILIPPUS 120, 123-4

93/Dec. 28/G.2

3.4 × 7.7 cm

Fourth century

The lower inner corner of a papyrus codex leaf with remains of 8 lines (→ and 9 lines ↓). The lower margin is about 3.4 cm deep at its shortest. The inner margin is about 0.3 cm wide at its narrowest on the → side and about 0.6 cm wide at its narrowest on the ↓ side. Each line held about 21-4 letters, and the maximum line length seems to have been about 12-12.5 cm. Five lines and the interlinear space following them occupy an area about 2.7 cm high. Approximately 39 lines are missing at the top of the ↓ side. The height of the written area will have been about 26 cm, and that of a page about 31 cm (allowing for an upper margin about two-thirds the depth of the lower margin: cf. Turner, *Typology* 25). For codices with similar dimensions (the first class of aberrants, 'much higher than broad', from Turner's Group 8), see Turner, *Typology* 21.

The text is written in a medium-sized decorated formal upright hand. Broad letters (Δ Η Κ Λ Ν Π Τ Υ Φ) contrast with tiny ε θ ο c. Uprights and descending obliques are thick, cross-strokes and ascending obliques thin. The tails of Ρ Υ Φ descend well below the line; the oval-bowled φ extends also well above the line. μ is rounded and deep in the middle. LXVI 4507 (Anubion?) is written in a hand of a similar type; the slightly slanting hand of the letter P. Herm. 5 (GMW<sup>2</sup> 70; about 317-23) may also be compared.

There are new but unappealing or impossible variants at → 5-6 and 8 and ↓ 2.

→

τα πρ[ο]αξης και μαλιστα μεν πει §120  
 ραθη[ς] ολην την βασιλειαν ανε  
 λευ [ει δε μη χωραν οτι πλειστην α  
 φορισα[ς] και διαλαβειν την  
 5 Ασιαν ω[ς] λεγουσι τωες απο Κι  
 κιλιας [μεχρι] Συνοπης προς δε  
 τουτοι[ς] κτικαι πολεεις επι τω  
 π[ο]ντ[ω]

↓

. . . . . ] ]  
 ευδοκμη[ς] εις δι §123  
 καιως ηπερ αυτος τ] επι ταυ  
 θ ορηγη[ς] και τους Ε]λλη

νασ προτρέψης επει; νυν §124  
 γε τις ουκ αν εικοτως; τα ευμ  
 βεβηγκοτα θαυμασιειν και κα  
 ταφρονησειεν ημων ο;που να  
 πα μεν τοις βαρβαροις ο;νυ υπει

2-3 ανε]λειν: so Γ: ελειν ΘΑΙΝ. Line 2 would be too short without the prefix.

3 The supplement seems two or three letters too long. Perhaps οτι was not present, but that is not the only possibility.

5 Αεασ: so ΓΘΛ. Π has the corruption οείαν (and διαβαλειν where the other manuscripts have διαλαβειν), while Ν has οείαν in the text with αείαν added above the line.

ω[ι: so Γ. ΘΑΙΝ have φν, wrongly (Münchner 48).

5-6 Κ[ι]ουλας: an anagrammatic corruption, for Κλυδαια. I have considered the possibility that Κ[ι] is not to be supplied at the end of the preceding line, the variant being instead merely Κλυδαια, but this would leave 5 too short, even if λεγουεν (Γ) was written where I have restored λεγουσι (ΘΑΙΝ).

7-8 επι τα; η[α];[ω]: a new false variant. The later manuscripts have επι ταύταις ταύ ταύταις (Γ) and ε. ταύ ταύταις ταύταις (ΘΑΙΝ). As Sinope is a city on the Pontus, πάντων could easily make its way into the text. Cf. *De Rea* 86, where for ε. δ. δ. α. δ. δ. Πάνω, apparently a gloss (M. L. W. Laistner, *CQ* 15 (1921) 81; CPF L2\*\* on p46.1073-4 (pp. 579-80)).

1 ] [, on the line, a stroke descending from left to right. μα[λ]λο[υ] | [των άλλων ευδοκιμη]εις seems possible. In Γ, μένον, repeated from earlier in the sentence, has replaced the correct reading μάλλον (ΘΑΙΝ).

2 ευδοκιμη]εις: -της ΠΙΝ<sup>2</sup>.

The papyrus omits the και otherwise transmitted before δικαίως. Though not essential, the particle seems desirable for clarity.

3-4 αντος τ; επι ταυθι: so ΓΘ (αυτός τ; επι ταύταις ταύταις). ΑΙΝ give επι ταύταις αυτός τε.

5 προτρέψης seems compatible with the space available. ΘΙΝ have προτρέψη.

7 θαυμασιειν: so Γ. ΘΑΙΝ omit the ν.

W. B. HENRY

#### 5147. ISOCRATES, *ANTIDOSIS* 2-4

51B.44/D(f)

11 × 9.2 cm

Second century

A fragment containing the lower part of the first two columns of a papyrus roll. The writing runs along the fibres and the back is blank. The lower margin is 3.2 cm deep; the intercolumnium is between 1.7 and 2.1 cm wide. Col. i preserves ten lines, and col. ii ten line-beginnings. About 22 lines are missing at the top of col. ii and the lost opening will have occupied about 21 lines. The original column height will have been about 19 cm. There are 12-16 letters to a line, and the maximum preserved line length is 5.6 cm.

The small formal round hand resembles those of LII 3685 (Plutarch), assigned to the first half of the second century, and XVII 2099 (Herodotus), also assigned to the early second century. Bilinearity is breached only by φ. There are no lection signs except for a filler at the end of i to.

Collated with the primary manuscripts (ΓΘΛ). There are no points of textual interest.

The papyrus does not overlap with any of the other known papyri of this speech, all of which come from rolls (see CPF L2\*\* pp. 497-513). These are p34 (P. Princ. III 113), p35 (PL inv. III/273E), p36 (XLV 3233), p37 (I 27 - PL inv. II/870), P. Koln XI 435 (possibly part of the same roll as p34), and the unpublished p33 *ter* (P. Mich. inv. 1592); there is also p58 (LXIX 4736), which contains a part of *De pace* quoted in *Antidosis* and may belong to a copy of either work.

Col. i

c.21 lines lost

δωκ [εν]ισ[υ] τω[ν]  
 σοφικτων βλασφη  
 μουνας περι της  
 εμης διατριβης  
 5 και λεγοντας ως  
 εξτην περι δικο  
 γραφιαν και παρα  
 πλησιον ποιουν  
 τας ωςπερ αν ει τις  
 10 Φ[ει]διαν τον τρ >

Col. ii

c.22 lines lost

κ[ο]λυτω[ν] το μεγε §3  
 θος και τ[ι]οιουτων  
 πραγμα[τ]ων υπερ  
 αν ουδ[ε]εις αν άλλος  
 5 επιχειρη[σει] πλην  
 των εμο[ι] πεπλη  
 ριακ[ο] τω[ν] η των  
 τουτους [μ]μει  
 εβαι βου[λο]μενων  
 10 μεχρι [μ]εν ουν πορ §4

Col. i

6 εξτην with Γ: ερει ΘΛ.

10 The angular line filler might also be read as part of λ: the upper part of the left-hand oblique and the extension of the right-hand oblique above the apex. In that case, we would have to reckon with an omission, τὸν (τὸ τῆς Αθηναίων εἰδος ἀρμαστειαν) τολμήσῃ, which could be explained as a case of *homoetelation* (-ον . . . -ον).

Col. ii

5 επιχειρη]σει restored e.g. with ΘΛ. Γ has -σειεν.

P. M. PINTO

## 5148–52. DEMOSTHENES

This group contains papyri of Demosthenes XXV, XXX and XXXIV. In collating them, we have based ourselves on the critical text of M. R. Dilts, *Demosthenis Orationes* iii (Oxford 2008). Where the papyrus provides, or suggests, a unique variant, we have consulted also the editions of Dindorf (Oxford 1846) and Dindorf-Blass (Leipzig 1907); for speech XXV also Butcher (Oxford 1907), Sykutris (Leipzig 1937), and Mathieu (*Démotène, Plaidoyers politiques* iv, Paris 1947); for speeches XXX and XXXIV also Rennie (Oxford 1921) and Gernet (*Démotène, Plaidoyers civils* 1, Paris 1954). The readings of S have been verified from the printed facsimile, and those of A from the images available on the website of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, by Dr W. B. Henry.

## 5148–5150. [DEMOSTHENES] XXV (IN ARISTOTIGONEM I)

This speech, which most editors follow Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Dem.* 57) in thinking spurious, has been poorly represented in the finds from Egypt. Here we publish three more witnesses. The total coverage is now:

6–8, 10–11	<b>5148</b>	papyrus roll	1/1
26, 31–2	<b>5149</b>	parchment codex	v
47–8	VI <b>882</b> (P. Yale I 23)	papyrus roll	π
50–51, 68–71	<b>5150</b>	papyrus roll	1
63–7	P. Lond. Lit. 125	parchment codex	v

All these come from Oxyrhynchus, except P. Lond. Lit. 125, whose provenance is uncertain.

## 5148. [DEMOSTHENES] XXV 6–8, 10–11

21 3B.27/E(9–6)e

75 × 9 cm

First cent. BC/first cent. AD

A fragment from the bottom of two columns. The back is blank, but shows a repair patch (3.2 × 7.8 cm) roughly corresponding to the second column, with the outer layer of fibres parallel to the writing on the front; underneath, on its upper part, some traces of ink are visible (either accidental or due to contact with writing). Remains of a similar patch can also be seen on the right, in correspondence with the first column of the recto. The lines had an average of 22 letters; the columns, of about 47 lines, measured about 7 × 25 cm and were 1 cm apart, with a margin of at least 1.2 cm at the foot. The speech will have begun at the top of the column preceding col. 1; the whole work would have taken up about 2.6 m (9 feet).

The hand, smallish, upright and serified in absurd fashion, resembles those of XXI 2303 (pl. xi) and XXXI 2545 (pl. iv), assigned to the late Ptolemaic or

early Roman period; earlier examples like P. Lond. Lit. 134 probably date from the second century BC (Cavallo–Maehler, *HB* no. 46, pp. 80–81; Cavallo, *Scriptura* pp. 47–9). The serifs, sometimes straight and sometimes curved, often connect one letter with the next, emphasizing the baseline. The only mark of punctuation is a paragraphos (ii 6); wider spaces are sometimes left between words (ii 7 after *σπαστωσαν*, 9 after *πολεεις*, 11 after *δικτην*, 14 after *θρονον*), but it seems that the only ones to which any significance attaches are the widest (i 9; ii 6, with paragraphos). Iota adscript written correctly in i 10. Note *μεγλυα* (i 9–10). *ει* for *ι* 14, ii 11–12.

The text is of considerable interest, not least by reason of its date.

## Col. i

		τομ]ων εις	
		εληλυθεναι] ει δ ετερον τι	§7
		τουταν περι]εσται ο μηθεις	
5		μεν αν αυτος πε]ποιηκειαι φη	
		κειεν εν δε ταις φη]φοις ευρεθη	
		σεται δεδοικα] μη δοξητε τι	
		ειν τον αει βο]υλομενον πο	
		νηρον ειναι τ]ων εν τ[η]ι πολει	
		παιδοτριβειν] αθενη]ς μεγ	
10		γαρ πας ποιηρος] καθ εαυ[το]ν ωι	
		δ αν υμεις προ]σθηθε ουτος	
		ιχυρος γινυει]ται εκ[τι δε] του	
		το τωι μεν ε3 ] . [ . ] . πα[ρ υ]μων	
		εργασια και δυ]ραστεια [υ]μειν	
15		δε τοις δουσι]ν οφει[δο]ς βου	§8

## Col. ii

		π[ολυ]ν ηδη [χρονον ιαχυρος	
		και κ[α]κως υ]πο τουταν δια	
		κειμενα βελ]τιω ποιησαι	
		παντα τα τρια]υτα εθη παρι	
5		δοντας τιμερο]ν ορθωσ δει δε	
		κασαι και τ]ην τα δικαγια α	§11
		γαπωσαν ευη]μοιαν περι πλει	
		στου ποιησομ]ενου η πασας	
		και πολεικ και] χωρας σωζει	



- 10 και την απαραιτήτων και σεμνήν  
 δικην ην ο πα[ς] αγιωτατος η  
 μιν τελετας [καταδειξας ορ  
 φεις παρα τον [του διος φησι  
 θρονον καθη]μενην παντα  
 15 τα των ανθρ[ωπων]

## Col. i

2 δ εττηρον: so SFY: δὲ πρότερον A.  
 3 τουτων περιβρατα: so AF: περιβρατα τουτων SY, in contravention of Bias' Law (π' περὶ-),  
 which the author of the speech observes as strictly as Demosthenes himself

6 δοξυγε: so SFY: δόξετε A.

7-8 πο [τηνον ειναι: εδιναι ποιητρον codd., in unanimous contravention of Bias' Law (-δμεινδον).  
 If Bias or anyone else had conjectured ποιητρον ειναι, the air would have been thick with accusations of temerity, but that is precisely what 5148 now reads. On the general issue, see LXX 4769 ii 5-6 n.

9-10 μεν[υγαρ. Such assimilations, normal in inscriptions of the Classical period, disappear from documentary papyri in the second century BC (Maysen, *Grammatik* i.1<sup>2</sup> 206) and occur only rarely in literary papyri of the Roman period; for examples in the Herculaneum papyri, see W. Crönert, *Memoria graeca herculanensis* (1905) 61. Cf. 5143 2.

10 πας ποιητρος]: εινον αντας δ ποιητρος SFY (δ om. Y'): πας εινον δ ποιητρος A. The previous line and the next suggest that about 12 letters are missing from this. As no reading in any of the manuscripts has less than 17, 5148 must have omitted something. Though it is always possible that it accidentally omitted ποιητρος, the likeliest supposition is that it read γαρ πας ποιητρος. That the manuscripts disagree over the position of εττηρον proves nothing, because such disagreements occur in places where no word is dispensable; but a later hand is more likely to have added it than to have omitted it. For the omission compare 5150 fr. 2 ii 4.

13 The surface is so badly worn before α (η represented only by a speck at line-level) that only one or two minute traces remain, but there is no reason to doubt that 5148 had λαβόντι.

15 The upper trace before β may be a high point rather than part of the ς.

## Col. ii

4-5 παρι] δουτας: so F: παριδόντας υμάς SAYF<sup>2</sup>.

5 δεi om. hic A.

6 και: om. codd.: fort. την (δὲ) Sykutris. The mediaeval manuscripts provide no satisfactory way of articulating the clause that begins in 4. S reads ὁρθῶς δεῖ διεκείαι, την τα δίκαι· ἀγαθῶσαν ἔννομον περὶ πλείστον ποιημάτων, ἧ . . . εἴφ' ἐσι, και την ἀπαραιτητων και σεμνήν δικην, ην . . . ἐφορῶν, εἰς αὐτῶν ἑκάστον νομιζαντα βλέπειν οὐτω ψηφίζεσθαι; editors make syntactical sense of this by printing a colon after εἴφ' ἐσι, but the chiasmus is unnatural and without the colon any reader would go astray. FY agree for the most part with S but repeat η before εἰς αὐτῶν; so too A, which also inserts αὐτ' after νομιζαντα and restores before ψηφίζεσθαι the δεῖ that it had omitted before διεκείαι. Sykutris' conjecture ὁρθῶς δεῖ διεκείαι, την (δὲ) was commended by C. Rügger, *Phil. Week* 58 (1938) 114B—not without justification, as it turns out, since 5148 now has ορθῶς δεῖ δι]κασαι και την κτλ. The space before και, wide enough for three letters, is presumably not a sign of trouble but a partner to the paragraphs; the space in 1 9 before αθενης, which begins a sentence, is wide enough for more than one letter and may have been wider.

8 ποιηρομει]οις. c. -καμείους codd.

10 Unless 5148 disagreed with the mediaeval manuscripts, this line had 14 letters where the lines on either side had 11. It is hard to imagine that any difference was an improvement.

12 reclusus here in SFY, before ἡμῶν in A.

13-14 φησι] θρονον: θρονον φησι codd., which in view of the attraction exerted on enclitics by the beginning of their phrase may well be thought an easier but less idiomatic order.

M. D. REEVE

## 5149. [DEMOSTHENES] XXV 26, 31-2

6 B.17/IV(a)

4.8 × 8.2 cm

Fifth century

A portion of the upper part of a leaf of a parchment codex with remains of 10 lines and upper and inner margins on each side. The line length was about 8.5 cm, and a line held about 20 letters on average. The text from the top of the column preserved on the front to the top of the column preserved on the back was about 2,242 letters long and will have taken up about 112 lines. Five lines and the interlinear space beneath the fifth occupy an area about 4.5 cm high. 112 lines will then have occupied a space about 50.4 cm high, too much for a single column, and it is safe to assume that this was a double-column codex, with each column holding about 37 lines and occupying an area about 16.7 cm high. The upper margin is preserved to a depth of 3.6 cm, and the depth of the lower margin may be estimated as 5.4 cm (if it is assumed that it was one-and-a-half times as deep as the upper: cf. Turner, *Typology* 25), so that the total height of the leaf will have been about 25.7 cm. The inner margin is preserved to a width of 0.9 cm on both sides. If we assume a similar figure for the outer margin and for the space between the columns, the total width of the leaf will have been 19.7 cm. For parchment codices with comparable dimensions, see Turner, *Typology* 27 (Groups IV and V). The speech, being of about 33,655 letters in length, will have occupied about 46 columns or 23 pages. The approximately 8,172 letters that preceded the top of the first column on this leaf will have taken up 11 columns.

The hand is a well-executed example of the 'Sloping Pointed Majuscule' (Cavallo-Machler, *GBEPP* p. 4). ο is consistently small, an oval loop closed at the right by a short heavy oblique; ρ, τ, γ, and x regularly descend below the line. Obliques descending from left to right are very thick; uprights and descenders are of medium thickness and often taper towards the base; horizontals, and obliques descending from right to left, thin to the point of invisibility and sometimes delimited by heavy finials. This emphatic shading indicates a date not earlier than the fifth century, and possibly of the sixth, a fairly late stage in the development represented by *GBEPP* 15a, 17b, 41c. Punctuation sparse: high stop, front 4. Iota adscript omitted in the only place that requires it (front 1).

There are no readings of particular interest.

## Front (flesh side)

λαχων τω λαχοντι και ο μη (§26)  
 χειροτονη[θεις τω χειρο  
 τ[ο]ρηθεντι | ε[ε] ιου ζητοι  
 5 η εναι· και τ[ω]ν αυτων μη  
 τεχειν και αλω[ς] μη νεος  
 μη πρεσβυτ[ε]ρος τα προς  
 ηκουτα προ[α]ττοι αλλα παν  
 το τεταγμα[ρ]ον εξελασας ε  
 κραστος εκ τ[ω]ν βιου την εαυ  
 10 του βουλ[η]σιν νομον αρχην

## Back (hair side)

χεσθαι τοις θε[ο]ις μη γ[ε]νε (§31)  
 σθαι δει ει δ[ε] α]ρα ενμβαηη [ ]  
 μειζον εκτι]ν εκτυχημα  
 τη πολει απορ]ησαι τους βου  
 5 λομενους εξ]αμαρτειν δι  
 ου τουτο ποι]ησουσιν ει του  
 τον αφεμειν]ον αυ]τ[ω]ν  
 ετοιμον υπ]αρξαι τι χαρ §32  
 ουτος ακηρσει]ν αν ω (ανδρες α]θ[η]ναιοι) τ[ω]ν  
 10 ανηκεστων η δει]νων α.

## Front (flesh side)

2 In the left-hand margin, c.5 mm to the left of the line-beginning, a horizontal trace: accidental.  
 9-10 εαυ] του; with SAFY<sup>2</sup>: εαυτ[ω]ν Y<sup>2</sup>.

## Back (hair side)

2-3 ενμβαηη [ ]: ενμβαηη τ[ω] S<sup>2</sup>. The lacuna at the end of 2 would accommodate only one letter, and there is no room for τ[ω] at the start of 3.  
 3 εκτυχημα: 1. εντύχημα. The first syllable has been falsely assimilated to that of the preceding εκτι].  
 6 ε[ε] with S<sup>2</sup>Y<sup>2</sup>: ε[ε] S<sup>2</sup>AFY<sup>2</sup>. ε[ε] is probably an isotactic spelling, not an indicative variant from a particular tradition.

9 ω (ανδρες α]θ[η]ναιοι): omega with theta written above it; the crossbar of theta extends well to either side of the roundel, and its ends are marked with heavy finials. See K. McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca* (1981) 113 (= supplement in *BASP* 22 (1985) 220) for various abbreviations of this phrase. For this exact form she refers to P. Ant. I 27,52, P. Rainer Cent. 21 (P. Mich. inv.

1399), P. Ryl. I 58,92, 118, and P. Lit. Lenaerts 11, all Demosthenes; and P. Gen. 2.1 (inv. 256; see M. P<sup>2</sup> 3), Aeschines. [Parsons notes that ε[ε] and its companion ε[ε] continue to appear in the mediaeval tradition of Demosthenes, e.g. in cod. A (D. M. MacDowell, *Demosthenes Against Meidias* (1960) 71-2); see in general M. R. Dilts, *Aeschines Orationes* (1937) p. xx with n. 17. ε[ε] clearly represents ε[ε] δ[ε] (αεσται), ε[ε] presumably ἀθηναίοι: ἀνδρες is bypassed as common to both.]

ἀθηναίοι ποιεῖται S<sup>2</sup>, but the verb was not present here.  
 τ[ω]ν(v): τ[ω]ν would extend further to the right than any other line, and we guess that it was written as τ[ω]ν, a typical abbreviation though not one attested elsewhere in 5149. However, the line ends in general exhibit a fair range of irregularity.

N. KARAPANAGIOTI / P. J. PARSONS

## 5150. [DEMOSTHENES] XXV 50-51, 68-71

fr. 1 34.4B.76/D(4-7)<sup>2</sup> 4.4 × 8.7 cm First century  
 fr. 2 33.4B.79/G(1-2)<sup>2</sup> 10 × 10.7 cm

Two fragments from the same season, boxed separately but presumably from the same roll, since the hand, the letter-size, the line-spacing, and the column-width are all very similar. Fr. 1 consists of two pieces from a single column; (a) provides the first three words of line 9, and (b) the remains of the last surviving letters of the same line. Fr. 2 contains the lower part of a column, with one trace of that preceding and some line-beginnings from that following. The edge of a *kollesis* can be seen c.3.5 cm from the left-hand edge; the overlap was of c.2.5 cm. The backs are blank.

There were between 24 and 28 letters to a line, with a column-width of c.6 cm. The intercolumnium measures c1 cm, the lower margin c.2 cm. If the beginnings of fr. 2 col. iii are rightly identified, 8 or 9 lines are lost at its top, making a column height of 23 or 24 lines or c.14 cm, roll height 18 cm if the top margin equalled the lower.

The hand is a small neat example of the gawky type assignable to the first century AD (compare P. Lond. II 354 = GLH 9a, Cavallo-Maehler, *Hellenistic Bookhands* 88, of 7-4 BC; II 246 = GLH 10c, HB 96, of AD 66). The letters are roughly 2-3 mm square; the interlinear spaces measure about 4 mm. Α sometimes sharp-nosed, sometimes rounded; β bean-shaped; ε with cross-bar detached; κ once as a vertical followed by a c-shaped curve. Some ligatures: note especially ων, where a single stroke serves as both the final curve of ω and the first upright of ν; μαν fr. 2 ii 7, where the back oblique of Α serves as the first upright of ν.

There are no signs of punctuation, accents or corrections (correction *currente calamo* fr. 2 ii 2). Iota adscript is written correctly where needed (fr. 1.10). ε[ε] for ε fr. 13, fr. 2 ii 6 (γενομενα), 11. Unmarked elision in fr. 2 ii 6 (and in fr. 1.9 if rightly reconstructed); *scriptio plena* in fr. 2 ii 4, 8.

Substantial new variants in fr. 2 ii 5-7, 14, iii 6.

Fr. 1 was first identified and edited by Dr M. Maehler; since then the original has been re-examined and its two constituent fragments realigned. Fr. 2 was identi-

fied as part of the same roll by Dr W. B. Henry. The combined version here printed is the responsibility of Prof. P. J. Parsons.

## Fr. 1

(a) παλτων κ[ακαι π[εφ]υκω[ς] και προδη  
 λος] αν οτι τοιου[τ]ος εστι των βιωι  
 κω]ππειτ[ε] ε[χ]αρ ειςιν ομο[ν] [δ]ικμνιοι §51  
 5 παντε[ς] αθηραιοι τουτ[ων] εκαστος

... πρατ[ων] κατα την αγορα  
 περιερχετα[ι] ητοι νη τον [ηρακλεα  
 των κοινων η] των ιδιω[ν] αλλ ουχ  
 οντος ουδεν ουδ αν [ε]χει δειξαι

(δ) 10 προς οτω τον βιο[ν] εστι των με  
 τρι[ων] η των καλω[ν] ουχι των πολυ  
 τικων αγαθων ε[π] ουδενι την  
 ψυ[χην] διατρε[φ]ει ου τεχνης ου γε  
 ωρ]γιας ουκ αλλη[ς] [ε]ργασιας ουδεμι  
 15 ας] ε[πι]μελ[ει]ται ο[ν] φιλανθρωπιας

## Fr. 2

Col. i

Col. ii

... [ε.2]. [ ε.8 ] . . . . . [ §68

των απαλλαχθ[ε]ν[α] αλλα [[τ]δια τι μνω  
 ουτος ενουος εστιν οτι φησιν αναι  
 5 δης ο δε αναιδης εκ τινος ωνομασθη  
 προς διος και των αλλων θεων ουκ εκ του  
 καν τα μητ οντα μητε γεινομενα

μητ[ε] χενρομενα τολμαν λεγειν  
 δια αναιχυντιαν σπερ ουτος ποιει  
 10 ηγνομιαι τοιων και περι της ενδει  
 ξεως α μοι παραλιπειν εδρεξ . . .

λυκουργος βελτιον ειναι προς  
 υμας ειπειν εγω γαρ ομαι δειν υμας  
 15 ως [τ]ερ αν ει χρεος εκσκοπειτο ιδιον  
 ουτως ε[ξ]ετασκει τούτων και . . . . .  
 τούτων του αγωνος δικαία [ . . . ]

Col. iii

[  
 [  
 . . . ]  
 . . . ]  
 5 ηπ. [ §70

αν[η]ρηται  
 ε[ξ]α[ρ]ηληπται το οφλημα ημεις  
 . . . ]  
 10 ει δ ετ[ε] [ε]στι και εσται τεωσπερ αν εκ

τρειψ [κε]μενα ουτος ουδεν αλη  
 [θε]ς λεγει αλλ αδικει και δευνα ποιει  
 τα κ[ρι]να δικαιο αφανιζειν επι  
 15 χειρ[ων] ου γαρ ει μη παν οσον ωφ §71  
 λεν [ο]φειλει νυν η κρισις ουδ ο

## Fr. 1

6 αν γε τι π[ρ]αττων codd. εν γε τι is quite a tight fit at the beginning of the line, but possible. Alternatively the scribe may have written εν at the end of 5, or omitted γε.

8-9 αλλ ουχ] ] ομοιος: this division seems unavoidable, if the lineation is rightly reconstructed, but normal orthography would require αλλ ουχ ημοιος. Perhaps the scribe wrote ουχι, but that too (before a vowel) would be anomalous.

9 οιδ' αν οπ. S.

11 των καλω[ν]: καλων codd. (except that O has των καλων, with the papyrus, according to Dindorf 1846).

12-13 [την] ψυ[χην]: so AFV: τη ψυχη SY<sup>2</sup>, with which compare e.g. Isocr. Archid. 85 ταίς ψυχαίς διατρεβεν. The corrupt accusative could be the result of an expectation that the verb following should have a direct object.

## Fr. 2

Col. i

15 ],, curving trace like the right-hand side of omega.

Col. ii

2 [τ] with a deletion dot above, and partly covered by the replacement δ. The scribe apparently skipped δια (by parableps), or as unnecessary to the sense and began to write τ, but caught himself in time.

2-3 υμων ουτος εστιν: so SY: ετιους οδους εστιν υμων Α: υμων οδους εστιν ετιους F. Weil deleted the whole phrase.

3-4 αναιδης: αναιδης εστιν codd. εστιν would be easily omitted, or easily interpolated. Compare 514B i 10 π.

4-7 The manuscripts have δε τινος ωνομασθη των αλλων ελλ' η δταν τα (τά οπ. Y<sup>2</sup>) μη' οτα μη' αν γενομενα (μη' αν γενομενα add. AV), ταύτα τολμη λεγειν δι' αναιχυντίας σπερ οδους

ποιεί; As a parallel for the construction, Schaefer cited XXIII 62 τί γὰρ ἄλλ' ἐστὶν τὸ μεταποιεῖν ἢ θῆναι . . . ; τί δ' ἄλλο τὸ συζητεῖν ἢ θῆναι . . . ; That however does not explain τῶν ἄλλων, which presumably means 'from what cause other than when . . .'

The papyrus offers a quite different structure: ἐκ τίνος ἀνομάσθη, πρὸς Διὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν; οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ κᾶ τὸ μῆρ' ὄντα μῆτε γενόμενα μῆτε γενεόμενα τολμᾷ λέγειν δι' ἀναρχωντίας, ὅπερ οὐτως ποιεῖ;

Of the elements here, TLG produces no example of πρὸς Διὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν; πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Aesch. In Tim. 70, In Clus. 156. This speech has πρὸς τὸν Δία καὶ θεοὺς at §65; Demosthenes himself uses μὴ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς (IX 54), and elsewhere πρὸς τὸν Δία καὶ πάντας θεοὺς / θεοὺς πάντας. Syntactically, the oath might reinforce the initial question ἐκ τίνος ἀνομάσθη, or the answer (final? a rhetorical question) which follows. Dr Henry argues convincingly for the former, since in similar structures the answering question tends to begin with the negative; he compares Dem. XVIII 119, with Wankel ad loc., and LV 18, where πρὸς θεῶν can only belong to the preceding clause.

μῆρ' ὄντα μῆτε γενόμενα μῆτε γενεόμενα as it stands produces an unexpected asymmetry of terms, 'what is', 'what is coming to be', 'what will be'. The expected triad of present, past and future would require γενόμενα, and perhaps the scribe intended this (the same form of words Ps-Archyias p. 32.13); γ(ε)όμενα for γενόμενα would represent a really vulgar spelling.

The version of the papyrus is simpler and clearer than that of the MSS. If this long version is original, the shorter perhaps arose from damage to a common archetype; if the shorter is original, the longer may represent an attempt to clarify τῶν ἄλλων ἄλλ' ἢ θῆναι.

10 παραλήπει: so FY: παραλείπειν SA: περιλείπει F (misprinted παρα- in Ditt's OCT).

ἐδοξέ: perhaps ἐδοξεν (the traces are spaced too widely for ἐδοξε alone), but there is unexpected ink on what should be the right-hand upright of nu.

12 εγω: so SAY: ἐγὼ μὲν F.

13 χροσ: so SFY: χροσ AF. Later grammarians regard -ωσ as the Attic form (Phryn. 371 et).

εκοπετηρ: εκοπετηρ codd., rightly.

14 εστεγρασα: so SYF: ἐστεγάειν A.

και . . . : καὶ τὰ codd., but the papyrus had more letters. Perhaps γαργα, i.e. ταυτὸ, if that could mean anything suitable to the context.

15 διεκια [ ]: the final alpha is large, and perhaps its extended tail filled the rest of the line. Alternatively there might just be room for the next word, [ε].

## Col. iii

Supplements from the standard text simply to test line-length.

5 ἦπ[ ]: we expect η πα[ ]ρα τη θεω κειμησ ει μεν αυ, but the trace does not suit λ.

6 ἀνήθηται ταῦτα καὶ codd., which leaves 10 letters unaccounted for. One possibility: the papyrus added a noun to ταῦτα, e.g. τὰ γράμματα, τὰ νοθήματα.

7 εστ[ ]ληπται: so S: ἐστ[ ]λεπται F.

8 We expect ληρομεν μαλλον δε φευδομεθα, but I cannot find a fit in the traces.

13-14 ωβ[ ]λε: this division of syllables runs against the normal assumption that πιασ αα ηπιασ (especially such combinations as can begin a word) cohere, so that ωβ[ ]λε would be expected. There are occasional apparent exceptions, but probably the papyrus actually wrote ωβ[ ]λε.

M. MAEHLER / P. J. PARSONS

## 5151. DEMOSTHENES XXX (CONTRA ONETOREM I) 39

6153/7(lit.)

4.7 × 5.2 cm

Second Century  
Flae I

A scrap of a roll giving the end of the speech and, centred underneath, the title with stichometric total. The hand is that of LXI 4107 (Thucydides VII), and as expected, a line is of approximately the same length (4.9 cm in 4107, about 5.0-5.1 cm in 5151) and holds approximately the same number of characters (17-19 in 4107, 16-18 in 5151) in both rolls: see Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 33-4. A nearly perpendicular right-hand margin is obtained by the use of smaller letters at line-end (3) and of >-shaped fillers (2, 4 (supplied)); the latter also appear in 4107 (ii 4, 6, 8). A diaeresis is applied to an initial ι, and a low point marks a minor pause (3); both are due to the scribe. The column is the last of the speech, but the second speech against Onetor may well have followed (cf. 6-7 n.): the blank space to the right of the column was at least 1 cm wide, while the intercolumnium in 4107 is 1.6-1.7 cm wide.

The appearance of a final stichometric count in a copy of a prose text from Egypt appears to be a novelty, but many examples are already known from the Herculaneum papyri: see e.g. D. Obbink, *Philodemus On Piety: Part 1* (1996) 62-3; R. Janko, *Philodemus On Poems: Books 3-4* (2011) 198-207.

Only one other papyrus of this speech has been published, P. Berol. 17067, a third-century papyrus codex leaf from Hermopolis containing XXIX 60 and XXX 1 (ed. W. Brashear, *APF* 40 (1994) 25-7).

απο]δουσαι το αρ  
γυριον κα]ε εκ των αλ>  
λων απα]ρτων: ικανως [ ]  
αποδ]εδ[ε]ιχθαι μοι νο[>  
5 μιζ]ω  
π]ρος ονητορα  
εξο]υλησ: α  
]ΔΔΔ[  
] [ ]

1-2 το αρ[ ]γυριον as in S and A. Ditts prints τάργυριον.

4 μοι cm. S.

6-7 The subscription is given as in S. F has ΚΑΤΑ ΟΝΗΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΣΟΥΗΧ Α; A does not have the subscription. The decoration preserved in this copy appears to be limited to a short stroke under the final letter of the first line and a dot above the ε in the second.

The absence of the author's name, as in 5152, may be an indication that the roll held more than one speech of Demosthenes: cf. Johnson, *Booths and Scribes* 143; F. Schironi, *τὸ μέγα βιβλίον: Book Ends, End Titles, and Coronides in Papyri with Hexametric Poetry* (2010) 65–8.

8 No stichometry is otherwise preserved for this speech. The stichometric indications preserved by the mediaeval manuscripts in the other private speeches imply in nearly all cases an average stichos-length of 34–35 letters, though there are exceptions, not clearly relevant to the present speech: the figure for XLVIII is about 28.6, and that for LIX about 32. (The transmitted stichometric total for XLIII would imply a higher figure, about 35.6, but has been suspected.) The letter-count for this speech is approximately 12,340. If we assume as the basis for the stichometric count a stichos between 34 and 35 letters long, the stichometric total will lie between 352 and 365; but the preserved sequence of three delts will not accommodate a figure in this range. If we take the basis to be the preserved sequence of 32 letters long, the total will be 385. *HHHP*ΔΔΔ[Π] is compatible with the preserved letters, but it would not be perfectly centred, even if up to four iotas were added on the right (for 386–9). A better solution is to assume a stichos of c.360 letters (= c.2 lines of 5151), such as we regularly find in the public speeches. 12,340 letters will then occupy about 343 stichoi. If written as *HHH*ΔΔΔ[ΔIII], the figure will have been centred in the column.

The set of copies to which the stichometric indications in the mediaeval manuscripts go back is unlikely to have employed in this speech a different stichometric basis from that used in the other private speeches (including XXXI), and it seems safe to assume that the stichometric total given there was approximately 350–63. But there may not have been only one stichometry in use in ancient manuscripts of Demosthenes. In XIX, SPQ all give the same figure for the stichometric total, but the marginal stichometric figures in PQ imply a shorter stichos-length than those in S and may go back to a copy where a different stichometric basis was applied: see D. M. MacDowell, *Demosthenes on the False Embassy* (2000) 36–8. On the stichometry in Demosthenes manuscripts, cf. Fr. Burger, *Stichometrische Untersuchungen zu Demosthenes und Herodot* (1892); E. Drerup, *JdPh Supp.* 24 (1898) 235–7; id., *Philol. Supp.* 7 (1899) 536 n. 1; in general on stichometry, F. G. Lang, *NT* 41 (1999) 40–57.

W. B. HENRY

5152. [DEMOSTHENES] XXXIV (CONTRA PHORMIONEM) 49–END

57/122/1

24 × 16 cm

Second/third century

This fragment contains, on the verso of accounts and upside down in relation to them, the last two columns of the speech, very badly rubbed, and 7.5 cm of blank papyrus to their right (11 cm if the lower right-hand corner is included). The lines had an average of 20 letters; the columns, of 23 lines, measured 6.5 × 12.5 cm and were 1.5 cm apart, with a margin of 1.5 cm at the head and 1.5 cm at the foot. The whole speech would have occupied about 3 m of papyrus.

The hand resembles that of XXXI 2539 (pl. II, Dictys); for dated parallels see *GLH* 17a (Commentary on Thucydides, mid-II AD), 18b (Favorinus, later than AD 191), 20b (Edict, AD 206). Punctuation and iota adscript are lacking. εἰ for ι; ii 10.

5152 is the third known papyrus of speech XXXIV, which is also transmitted by P. Köln IV 184 (of the first half of the 3rd cent.), §§3–5, and P. Grenf. II 10 (= Hausmann XL, of the 2nd cent.), §§5–7.

Col. i

παρ μιν μ[η]δα[μ]ως ὦ ἀν  
δρες δικασ[τα]ι υμεεις γαρ ες §50  
θ] οι αυτοι οι τ[ον] επ[ι]δαμεινα  
μενον εκ τ[ου] εμποριου πολ  
5 λλα χρηματα ε[σ]τ[αι] τοις δαμει  
ταις παραχωρητα τας υπο  
θηκας θανατου ζημειωσαν  
της εισαγαλθεντα εν τω  
δημω και ταυτα πολιτην  
10 υμε[τ]ερων οντα και πατρος  
ε[σ]τ[ερ]α[ν] τη[ν] γη[ν] κτος ηγειθε γαρ  
§51  
τους τοιουτους ου μνον  
τ[ου]ς εντιγχανοντας [α  
δικειν αλλα και κωτη βλα  
15 πτε[ε]ιν το εμποριον υμων  
εικοτως [α]ι γ[α]ρ [ε] [ποριαις τοις  
ε[ρ]ο[ζ]οις μνον [ε] ουκ απο των  
δαμειζομενων αλλ απο των  
δαν[ε]ζιζοντ[ων] εν ε[σ]τιν και  
20 ουτε νων ο[υ]τε [ε] νων κ[α]λ[η]σθησθ  
ουτ ε[σ]τ[ι] βατην [ε]σται [αν]α  
χθην [α]ε[σ]τι το των δα[μ]ει  
ζοντων] μερος εαν [α]φαι

Col. ii

ρεθη εν μιν ον τοις νομοις §52  
πολλ[α]ι και καλαι βοηθη[ε]σαι  
ειεν [α]ν τοις υμας δε [δει] ενν  
επανορθουντας φαινεσθαι  
5 και μη συνχωρηστας  
τοις πομηροις εν υμιν ως  
πλειστη εμπορια η[ε]στιν το  
εμποριον η εσται δε[ε] εαν  
διαφυλατ[η]σται τους τα ε  
10 αυτων προειμενοους και  
μη ε[π]ι[τ]ρεπητεσθαι αδικει[σ]θαι  
υπο τοις πομηροις η[ε]στιν ε  
γ[α]ρ μιν ον οσαπε[ρ] ορες.

15 ἤν ἐμ[η]κα[ι] καλῶ δὲ και λῶ  
 λῶν τινα τοῦ φιλάμ[υ]  
 ἐσ[ι] κέλευητε  
 ---  
 πρὸς τῆμ  
 ---  
 παραγραφήν  
 ---  
 τῆμ φορμ[ι]οῖς

As will be evident from the transcript, much less could be made of the text if it were unknown.

## Col. i

3 οἱ αὐτοὶ Π SF: om. A, del. Blass: οἱ del. Rennie.  
 3-4 ἐπιδασειόμενοι Π A: ἐπιδασειόμενοι SF  
 6 παρασχεῖται II: οὐ παρασχέηται codd.  
 15 ἕμῶν II SF: ἕμῶν A.  
 16 [ε ] πορῶσι Π: εὐπορῶσι A: ἐμπορῶσι SF Cf. ii 7.  
 17 An unprejudiced eye would have read ρηῖ as ρηί.

## Col. ii

1 -ρηθῆ II AF: -ρηγε S.  
 5-6 ἐνχαυροῦντας τοῖς πονηροῖς II (-μη- apparently a simple mistake for νη) SF: τοῖς πονηροῖς ἐνχαυροῦντας A.  
 7 ἐμπορία Π: εὐπορία A: ἀφέλεια SF. The reading of Π is not necessarily an anticipation of ἐμπορίων in the next line: cf. the variants at i 16.  
 8 περὶ II SAF: παρὰ edd. (corr. Aldina).  
 8 ἐμπορίων: ῖων apparently in thicker ink, or re-inked, with a short blank before and after. The blanks perhaps avoid flaws in the writing surface (similarly in 12, between ρ and γ and γ and αἱ τοιούτων).  
 9 διαφωλῶντε II SA: φωλάττητε F.  
 12 τοιούτων Π A: τῶν τοιούτων SF.  
 13 ρηρς does not account for all the traces at the line-end, one of which may belong to something superscript: οἷε ρ(ε) codd.  
 14-15 λῶλλον: ἄλλον codd., no doubt rightly, though λάλλον would give the sentence a frankness and informality all too rare in forensic speeches.  
 17-19 The end title is given differently in the mediæval tradition: ΥΠΕΡ ΧΡΥΣΙΠΠΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΦΟΡΜΙΩΝΟΣ ΠΑΡΑΓΡΑΦΗΣ (misreported in Dilts's OCT): ΠΡΟΣ ΦΟΡΜΙΩΝΑ ΥΠΕΡ ΔΑΝΕΙΟΥ ΑΕ. The author's name is omitted: see 5151 6-7 n.  
 Alongside the subscription remains of an unpretentious coronis, which may have continued above if its mid-point marked the end of the text proper, as expected. Another ornament of uncertain design appears to have descended from the right of 19 to a point level with the bottom of the previous column. The end-title was set off by horizontal strokes (some now obliterated) above and below the line-beginnings and line-ends.

M. D. REEVE

## 5153-8. PLUTARCH, MORALIA

These six items, all dated on palaeographical grounds to the second or third centuries, offer primary evidence of the circulation of Plutarch's works in Graeco-Roman Egypt, a province which indeed he himself once visited (*Mor.* 678c shows him leaving Alexandria). If we omit works conjecturally attributed to Plutarch (XXXIV 2688-9, P. Lond. Lit. 175), we have now fourteen witnesses, of which eight certainly (and one probably) come from Oxyrhynchus:

## MORALIA

5153	75A-C	<i>de profectibus in virtute</i>	ii papyrus roll	Oxyrhynchus
5154	139E-140D	<i>coniugalia praecepta</i>	iii papyrus roll	Oxyrhynchus
LII 3685 M-P <sup>3</sup> 1431.1	155C-D	<i>septem sapientium convivium</i>	ii, first half papyrus roll	Oxyrhynchus
5155	191E-F	<i>regum et imperatorum apophthegmata</i>	iii/iv papyrus roll	Oxyrhynchus
PSI inv. 565 M-P <sup>3</sup> 1432.001	452F	<i>de cohibenda ira</i>	ii, first half papyrus roll	?
P. Harrauer I M-P <sup>3</sup> 1432.01	456F-457B	<i>de cohibenda ira</i>	v parchment codex	?
PSI inv. 2055 (probably same roll as 5156) M-P <sup>3</sup> 1431.11	660D, 661D	<i>questiones conviales</i> iv	ii papyrus roll	Oxyrhynchus?
5156 (probably same roll as PSI inv. 2055)	660C, 661B-C	<i>questiones conviales</i> iv	ii papyrus roll	Oxyrhynchus
P. Laur. inv. III/543A M-P <sup>3</sup> 1431.12	715D	<i>questiones conviales</i> vii	ii papyrus roll	Oxyrhynchus?
5157	732E-F	<i>questiones conviales</i> viii	ii papyrus roll	Oxyrhynchus

P. Ant. II 85 - III 213 M P <sup>3</sup> 1432	890E etc.	<i>építome de placitūs philosophorum</i>	III papyrus codex	Antinoe
<b>5158</b>	963D	<i>de sollertia animalium</i>	III papyrus roll	Oxyrhynchus
	VITAE			
LII <b>3684</b> M-P <sup>3</sup> 1429.1	Lycurgus 31		III papyrus roll	Oxyrhynchus
P. Heid. I 209 M-P <sup>3</sup> 1430	<i>Pelopidas</i> 7		II papyrus roll	?
P. Köln I 47 etc. M-P <sup>3</sup> 1431	<i>Caesar</i>		III papyrus roll	Panopolis?

Palaeographical datings must always be taken with a pinch of salt. Nevertheless, it is interesting that 12 out of 14 published papyri are assigned to the second and third centuries AD (and another to the third/fourth), and five of them (**5153**, PSI inv. 2055 - **5156**, **5157**, PSI inv. 565, **3685**) not long after the author's death. This suggests an early popularity, continuing into the third century, and then a slump more distinct even than what would be expected from the general survival rate. The works attested include two normally thought spurious (*regum et imperatorum apophthegmata*, *építome de placitūs philosophorum*); and two not included in the 'Catalogue' of Lamprias (*de cohibenda ira*; *quaestiones convivales*). For a general account of the early reception of Plutarch, see R. Hirzel, *Plutarch* (1912) 74-82.

The new pieces offer points of textual interest. (a) New readings, all right or plausible: **5153** i 4-5 adds *εκα[στη]*, 10 reads *περικεμενη* (confirming conjecture), ii 5-10 [ε] ... *γινωσκ[κ]οις* for *αν . . . γινωσκως*; **5155** ii 14 perhaps -*η*- (confirming conjecture), 25 *αυτα* for *αυτος* (confirming conjecture); **5156** fr. 1.3 *τηρη[ι]* for *ποιει*, PSI inv. 2055 fr. 1.2-3 *γενομενον* for *δεόμενον*, fr. 2.2-3 *συνκαθεσις* for *καθήσις* (confirming conjecture), 5 *να δε μη* for *ει δε μη* (emended to *ει δε δη*). By contrast, **5154** fr. 4.5 *κουως* looks like simple error. (b) Agreements with the indirect tradition: **5154** fr. 4.3 *το ουκ εμ[ον]* (Stobaeus) for *ουκ εμ[ον]* (cod.); **5158** two agreements with Porphyry against the MSS. The new variants in **5156** and PSI inv. 2055 have a special interest, since the mediaeval manuscript transmission of *Quaestiones convivales* can be traced back to a distinct archetype: Vindobonensis phil. gr. 148 (designated T), of the first half of the eleventh century.

The new papyri have been collated with the most recent Teubner editions. We have also consulted the Budé and Loeb editions; the two editions of G. N. Bernardakis (*editio minor*, Teubner 1888-96; *editio maior* brought to publication by P. D. Bernardakis and H. G. Ingenkamp, Academy of Athens, 2008- ); and the indi-

vidual editions in the Corpus Plutarchi Moraliump series (for **5153-4** and **5156**: *De profectibus* ed. E. Valgiglio, 1989; *Coniugalia proaetata* ed. G. Martano and A. Tirelli, 1990; *Quaest. conv. IV* ed. A. M. Scarcella, 2001).

J. H. BRUSCELAS / P. J. PARSONS

**5153. PLUTARCH, MORALIA 75A-C (DE PROPECTIBUS IN VIRTUTE)**

112/48

13.0 × 11.8 cm

Second century  
Plate IV

Tops of two columns, with an upper margin of c.5.5 cm and intercolumnium of c.2.5 cm. Lines of 15-18 letters (c.5.5 cm), columns of c.28 lines (c.14 cm). The back is blank.

The copyist writes an elegant script of the 'Roman Uncial' type, bilinear except for φ, the base-line emphasised by regular serifs, the upper line by occasional ligatures; he maintains a certain regularity of line-ends by writing the last letter small (i 1, 7, 12) or by adding space-fillers (double, ii 10). No lectional signs except diacresis (i 8); *scriptio plena* i 8, elision unmarked ii 4; iota adscript as required in i 9?, ii 12.

The text of *de profectibus* begins with the first line of col. i. There is no sign of a title above that; any such will have come at the end of the work, and possibly also to the left of col. i. The whole treatise would have taken c.60 columns in this format, c.4.8 m. of papyrus.

**5153** offers unique variants in i 4-5, in i 10 (confirming a conjecture), and in ii 10.

Col. i

Col. ii

τι]ε των λογων η σοε  
 ci]ε σενεκιαν σωσε  
 τη]ν αυτου βελτιωμμε  
 . . . ] προς αρετην εκα  
 5 . . . ] ζνακεθ[ci]ν ει  
 μηδ]εμιν αι προ]κο  
 παι] ποιους της αφο  
 κυ]ρησ ανεων α[λλ]θα ι  
 cω] σταθμω] πσιν  
 10 η κακ]ια περικεμενη  
 μοληρ]δix ωκε [di]κτυ  
 ον κατ]εστρεψεν [o]μυδε  
 γαρ ε]ν μουκicωι

75B

τιαν εξιν εγγενεθα[i]  
 παντασι του σωμ]α  
 τος αναρραθεν[τος  
 αλλ ωπερ εν το]ιυτοις  
 75C ου προκοπτουμ]ν [ει προ  
 κοπιουτες αυ]ε[σει  
 του βαρυνουτος οi]ον  
 επι λυγ]ο]ι]ν προς τρηνα]ν  
 τιον αναφερο]μ]ενο]ι μη  
 γινωσκ[κ]οις την >>  
 μεταβολην ουτως εν [ >>  
 ]ωι φιλοσοφειν ουτε  
 τινα προκοπτην ουτε

I. [

15 προκο]πης [αι]θρην  
 υποληπ]τερον ει] μηθεν  
 η ψυχ]η με]θης[ι]ν μη  
 δε απο]κα]ψ[αι]μεται τ]ης  
 αβελ]ηρι]ας α]λλ α]χρι τ]ου  
 λαβειν τ]ο. [

## Col. i

3-5 τ]η]ν αυτου βελτιουμ[ι]... ] προς αρετην εκα[... ] γνησιφ]η[ς]μ: την αυτου βελτιουμένου  
 προς αρετην συναίσθησιν codd., excepti βελτιουμένου τινός K<sup>1</sup>, βελτιουμένην τινός K<sup>2</sup>. J. 5153 appar-  
 ently had βελτιουμ[ε] ]νν or -]νον in 3-4, and then uniquely added εκα[ε]την or εκα[ε]τρον before  
 συναίσθησιν. Sense seems to require βελτιουμένοι; then εκα[ε]την would add a practical touch, since  
 improvement in each virtue separately is certainly easier to monitor than improvement in virtue as  
 a totality.

10 περιεμ[ε]νη: περιθ[ε]μένη codd. 5153 confirms the conjecture of Babbitt, where most editors  
 print περι(τ)θ[ε]μένη (Emperius).

## Col. ii

10 Unexplained ink in the left-hand margin.

γ]γ[ω]σ[κ]ω[ς] codd. The indicative requires us to supply ει in 5, replacing α of  
 codd.

11-12 εν | [τ]η]ν φιλοσοφειν: so GxC<sup>2</sup>D: εν τοις φιλοσοφειν cett. (εν τοις φιλοσοφειν επαγγελλο-  
 μένοις FqM mg. α<sup>2</sup>ΘN mg. S).

15 υποληπ]τερον: so XC<sup>2</sup>D: αποληπτόν W: απολειπτόν cett. The last seems less well suited to  
 the space.

17 δε (ιστρία βλασ) suggested by the spacing.

19 τ]η. [- τ]θ δερον codd., except δερον τ]θ D. Of ]θ we have only the upper right-hand arc;  
 the next trace is indeterminate. But it seems likely that 5153 shared the majority reading.

P. J. PARSONS / W. B. HENRY

## 5154. PLUTARCH, MORALIA 139E-140D (CONUGALIA PRAECEPTA)

88/187(a)

fr. 1 3.5 × 5.5 cm

Third century

Four fragments from a roll (back blank). Upper margin preserved to 2.5 cm,  
 intercolumnium 2 cm. Fr. 2, 3 and 4 all have upper margins; if they represent suc-  
 cessive columns, the column had c.32 lines, with a width of c.8.5 cm and a height  
 of c.17.5 cm. In this format the whole treatise would occupy c.30 columns, 3 m. of  
 papyrus. The hand is a well-executed Severe Style, of classic type, comparable with  
 II 223 (GLH 21a) and assignable to the third century. No lectional signs, except the  
 diaeresis in fr. 2.4 and the circumflex on fr. 2.5 παιδι[α]ς; punctuation by para-  
 graphus (fr. 1 ii 7/8), and stops high above the line, i.e. added later (fr. 2.3, 3.5). No  
 evidence for the treatment of elision or iota adscript.

Substantial corrections, perhaps by the first hand, at fr. 1 ii 8 and fr. 2.4. The  
 unique variant κοινω for κοινώ (fr. 4.5) will be another error of copying, by false  
 anticipation of the following  $\acute{\omega}$ . At fr. 4.3 the papyrus preserves a correct reading  
 known only from the indirect tradition.

## Fr. 1

Col. i

Col. ii

.]. [ 139E  
 οφελος ουδεν εστιν ει μη  
 δε]ικνυσι την μορφη]ν ο  
 μο]ιαν ουτως ουδε πλουσι]ας  
 5 ]ρ. 5 γα]μετρ]ς ονησι]ς ει μη παρε  
 ]ι χ]ο]ι τον βιον ομοιον τω αν  
 ] ]α δ]ρ]ι και συμφωνον το θηος  
 ].. ει χαρ]αντος μεν εικονα σκυθω  
 τ]η]ν

## Fr. 2

cas μετ [αυταν διδασκουσιν (140A)  
 εντιμη]λασθαι μονας γενο  
 μενας: ο]ντως οι μη σινοντες  
 [[ε]ι]λαρος τ]αι γυναι]ξι μηδε  
 5 παιδι]ας κ]οινωνου]ντας αυτας  
 και γελω]γος ιδι]ας ηδονας χω  
 ρις αυτω]ν ζητην διδασκουσιν  
 το]η]ς [των Περσων βασιλευ

## Fr. 3

φιλαθ]ηται γυμ]ναστικου  
 ουτως ανη]ρ φιλοσομ]α]τος καλ  
 λωπι]στρι]αν γυναι]κα ποι  
 ει φιλη]θ]ως εταιρικ]ην και  
 5 ακολα]στο]ν φιλα]γαθος [και  
 φιλοκα]λος] σωφρο]να και]ι κο]ς  
 μιαν Λακα]να] παιδισκη] πινθη]νο  
 μενου τινος ει] ηδη αρ]δρι προς



Fr. 4

ευδαι|μοσι|α και μα (1400)  
 καρια|ν [ει]νοι πολ|ιν εν η το  
 εμο|ν και το ουκ εμ|ον ηκιστα  
 φθε|γγομενων α|κουουσι  
 δια το| κοινας ως ε|νι μαλι  
 στα χρ|ηθβαι τοις αφ|τοις επου  
 δης τοις| πολιτα|ς πολυ δε  
 μαλλον εκ| γαμου δ|ει

Fr. 1 Col. i

We have not managed to place these line-ends. In 8 ]... the first trace is part of a rising oblique or arc at upper level, the second the top of an upright, ]ε1 acceptable.

Col. ii

1 Calculation shows that this is near the top of the column next before fr. 2.  
 2 ετιν om. vH, according to Martano-Tirelli.  
 3-6 παρ|χρ|: so OJΘ and Stob. 4.22.133; παρ|χρ|ει cett.  
 8 ει χρ|ηθ|: so codd. Thus the new sentence, which elaborates the simile of the mirror, begins in asyndeton. Some editors have found this objectionable, and the Teubner prints ε| (54r) (Sveking). In 5154 the copyist began with χρ|; later ι was squeezed in after ε, and ε1 added in the left margin, slightly out of alignment.

Fr. 2

1 In the left-hand margin a dot, too heavy to be accidental: to help alignment, or mark a difficulty?

μετ| [αυτων: Π has και πινω|εας before this phrase, and Zb after, where the papyrus has no room for it.

4 The scribe first wrote ε|γαρω|ε, then crossed out ε, added diaeresis on ε, and converted γ to λ by adding the right-hand oblique.

5 παιδ|α|ς: the accent distinguishes the genitive of παιδ|α|ς from that of παιδ|ε|α.

Fr. 3

4 εταμικ|ην: so codd., Apostol. 12.538; ερωτι|ε|ν Stob. 4.28.10, Apostol. 2.1000.

6 φιλοκαλο|ς: after ]ε unexplained ink, a short oblique trace at line-level. Perhaps a separator to mark the pause between the double subject and the double object, but nothing similar can be seen in 4.

7 These supplements from the transmitted text make a rather long line. It may be that the papyrus had a shorter version, e.g. ]πυθ|ο-.

8 ε1[δ|ε: the traces would not fit Platt's conjecture τ|αδ|ε|α.

Fr. 4

3 ηε ουκ: so rightly Stob. 4.29.43, Apostol. 12.577; ηε om. codd.

5 κινω|ε: κινω|ε|ς codd. Stob. (κινω|ε|ς compend. A) Apostol.

8 εκ| ]γαμου: so rightly codd.: ε|ν γ|αμω Stob. Apostol.

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## 5155. PLUTARCH, MORALIA 191E-F (REGUM ET IMPERATORUM APOPHTHEGMATA)

104/6(Γ)

6.4 x 19 cm

Third/fourth century

Two fragments and a scrap from a book-roll; writing with the fibres, back blank. The fragments join to give the upper part of a single column, with parts of 25 lines; top margin preserved to 4 cm, left-hand margin (intercolumnium) to 2 cm. The line originally measured 6.5-7.0 cm (c.20 letters); if the suggested reconstruction of col. i is correct, the column originally measured c.19.5 cm (31 lines). On this scale, the whole work would have occupied 145 columns, a length of 12.5 m. To the left a heavy *kollesis*, and a few line-ends from the preceding column. The scribe writes a rather slack Severe Style, assignable to the third century or even later. Iota adscript correctly in ii 7 and 16; diaeresis on initial iota and epsilon (ii 23, 24). No lectional signs except a divider-mark below the beginnings of ii 2, 7, 14 and 21. This divider takes the form of a wide shallow curve, like a hyphen, joining an oblique that slopes sharply down into the left-hand margin: apparently a florid variant of the diplo obelismene, for which see R. Barbis, *Pap. Congr. XVIII* (1988) ii 473-6; K. McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia* (1992) 24-5 and Table 20; and (for Herculeanum papyri) G. Del Mastro, *CExe* 31 (2001) 110. In some examples this sign serves to separate sections or blocks of text, rather than individual sentences. In 5155 this distinction does not apply, since each new sentence is in fact a new anecdote: individual anecdotes end with the divider, and where the end occurs in mid-line, the scribe leaves a blank of c.5 letters (ii 21, and by inference also 14).

Col. i

] .  
 ] ,oc  
 ] θαι  
 ] ,a  
 5 ] ,.  
 ] .  
 ] a  
 ] .  
 ] .  
 10 ] .

Col. ii

των πολ|εμ|ων τοις ε|φε (191E)  
 εν εφ|ικ|ινουται τωι δε  
 προ|δ|ο|τη παραδουαι  
 στρατ|ιωτας των εφορων  
 κελευ|ονταν ουκ εφη τι  
 στεψε|ω τους αλλοτριου  
 τωι προ|δουτι τους ιδιου  
 κλεισ|μενης προς τον υπι  
 κχιου|μενον αυτου διδωειν  
 αλεκτ|ρι|νονας αποθη|κε|ου  
 τ|α|ς ε|ν τωι μαχεσθαι μη εν  
 γε ειπερ| αλ|λ|α δοε [μοι τους κα  
 τ|α|κτημεν|τα|ς] ε|ν τωι μαχε  
 c.12 . . . ]  
 15 κριθει|ς εις τους τρι|ακον|του|ς  
 ητι|ς ην εν τη π|ολει| πρω

191F

τε|νοικ[α τιμ]η τη|ι ταξι  
 ιλαρος και μειω|ισω| απρηι  
 χ|φ|ε|ρε|ιν λευ|ων ει |τριακσιου  
 20 η πο|λις ε|χει πολιτα|ς εαυτου  
 βελτιοιας (παξ) δαμ|ωνιδας  
 δε ταχθεις εις την τελ|ειται  
 αν του χορου ταξιν υ|πο του του  
 χορου ιστατος ευγε |ειπεν  
 25 εφευ|ρε|ς πως| και αυτα |εντι

## Col. i

The slight traces of line-ends would fit the following reconstruction, which we owe to Dr D. Colombo: (191C-D) στρατοποδον κελουα|τος | [επεκειναι και διαμαχε|σθαι | [τον βασιλευς ουκ εφη δ]η  
 8 [καλυσει τους παλεμιο|ς | [ικους αυτους γενεθει βα|] | [λομουμεν επι δε μικρω] α | [πολιτειουτες  
 της ταφρο]ν | [κυναβαι κατα τουτο παρτα]α |<sup>10</sup> [εα το δαλιειτον και προς] ι | [con. The ending  
 ], oc stands rather lower than line 1 of col. ii, and we have assumed that it belongs to line 2 of col. i;  
 but the trace attributed to line 1 is very dubious, and may be delusory.

## Col. ii

11-14 μη ευ| γε απερ αλ|λα δεξ [μοι τους κα|]τρακενοντο|ς| ε|ν ται μαχε|]||εβα: no codd.  
 (for the spelling of the participle see next note), except οδ τοιτων, ελεε, δεομαι, αλλά μάλλον τών  
 φανερότων εν τώ μάχεσθαι Σ g (the Teubner apparatus implies that the last three words are omitted,  
 but that is not true at least for E).

13 κα|]τρακενοντο|ς|: the medieval MSS have either -κενω- or -κεν-. ἀποκέν(θη)ν has  
 a wide undisputed currency in LXX, NT and the Christian Fathers, and in later Byzantine usage;  
 see TLG and Trapp, *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzistik* s.v. It appears also in MSS of secular writers  
 of the Roman period, often as a variant and generally in danger of normalization: W. Crönert,  
*Moneta Graeca Herculaniensis* (1905) 266 n. 1 collects some examples. The grammarians list ενώνω as  
 Aeolic (Herodian III ii 303, 339), and that may have given the form some prestige, but most often it  
 keeps vulgar company (Psaltes, *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chronika* (1913) 241, argues that it actually  
 represents a back formation from εκενω, by analogy with μένω/ήμενω): 5155 now gives a reason to  
 remove it from our passage of Plutarch.

14 ε12 . . . [The surface is badly damaged. The space needs to accommodate -θα:, if line  
 13 is correctly reconstructed; then a space of ε5 letters before the next anecdote (as in ii 21); then  
 what appears in the MSS as Παιδαρεια οδκ έν-. The same Laconic Spartan recurs at *Αροφθιγματος*  
*Λακωνία* 231A, 241D-E, in various spellings (παιδαρειν-, παιδαρη-, παιδαρει-); also *Ιεραγ* 25 6 (παιδα-  
 ρηρος). Editors have corrected all examples to Πεδαρει-, the name of a Spartan harmost frequently  
 mentioned in Thucydides VIII (Poralla, *A Prosopography of Lacedaemonians* (\*1985) no. 599; Παιδαρη-  
*Σπδα* s.v.), see Gomme, Andrews and Dover on Thuc. 8.28. Of the variants, only Πεδαρει- can be  
 paralleled from inscriptions, see LGPN IIIA (three examples from Arcadia, iv-iii BC); and Wacker-  
 nagel, *Philologia* 86 (1931) 140-41 = *Kleine Schriften* I 752-3, argued conclusively that Παιδαρηρος repre-  
 sents just an Italic corruption. In 5155 the final traces would suit εντι, perhaps even εντι|, but those  
 before remain intractable; the clearest so high in the line that it might be suprascript.

19 πολι|τοι|ς: om. E.

25 πως: ε|τως Σ g. Here the shorter form suits the spacing.

αυτα (i.e. αυτα), rightly: αυτε|ς all MSS. In the same anecdote at 149A all MSS have αυτε|ς (αυτα  
 Wilamowitz); at 129E αυτη (αυτη) ΦΠΙ η χωρα. Hertlein restored αυτη here, but the Doric form, as at  
 149A, suits the Spartan Damonides.

P. J. PARSONS / W. B. HENRY

## 5156. PLUTARCH, MORALIA 660C, 661B-C (QUAESTIONES CONVIVIALES IV FR., 1.2)

112/60(b, c)

fr. 1 3.7 x 9.8 cm

Second century

Plate I

Two fragments from a roll, written along the fibres. Fr. 1 preserves a right  
 margin of 1.3 cm and an upper margin of 5 cm (if indeed line 1 is the top of the  
 column). The average number of letters per line is 12, suggesting a column width  
 of about 4-5 cm. The backs are blank.

The text is written in a small informal round hand. Letters are upright and  
 generally fairly well spaced, with a tendency toward cursive forms: λ is quickly  
 written in two movements, showing some variation in the size of its loop; μ is deep  
 and in three strokes; γ is V-shaped; and ω is very rounded with a high middle.  
 The feet of the uprights of π, τ, and κ are ornamented with ticks or back-hooks.  
 The cross bar of τ sometimes extends far to the left, and the mid-stroke of ε often  
 extends to the right. The hand is generally bilinear, only the upright of φ extending  
 above and below the line. Little attempt is made to justify the right-hand margin.  
*GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 17 (X 1231), assigned to the second century, is fairly similar. No lectional  
 signs are present, and there is no evidence for the scribe's practice in respect of iota  
 adscript or elision.

PSI inv. 2055, edited by I. Andorlini in *δδοι διζήσεις: le vie della ricerca: studi in  
 onore di Francesco Adorno* (1996) 3-10, comes from the same stretch of text as 5156,  
 yet does not overlap it; and, to judge from the published image, its second-century  
 hand is similar, particularly in respect of λ, γ, μ, η, with further examples of unjusti-  
 fied line-end. Note also that both items show the same line-spacing and approxi-  
 mately the same line-length (c.13 letters occupying c.4.5 cm). Thus a strong case can  
 be made for the claim that PSI inv. 2055 and 5156 come from the same roll.

5156 offers one unique variant (fr. 1.3), which appears very plausible.

These fragments and their connection to PSI inv. 2055 were identified by  
 David Danbeck through the 'Ancient Lives' project.

## Fr. 1

υγροτ|η|τ|α  
 και ρυ|ει|ν αφαιρον  
 εντο|ν|ον τηρε|ι τ|ο  
 μαλακ|ο|μενον  
 5 αυτου κ|αι τυτ|φο

(660c)

μενον] ρυτως ο  
κυμπο]τρικος λο  
γος ουκ εαι δι]αφορει  
εβαι παντα]πα  
10 ειν υπο του αι]νο]υ  
τους πινου]τ]α]ε

## Fr 2

. . . . .  
]. [ (661B)  
μ]εταβα [ (661B)  
λειν] κ[ρατ]ηθεισαν [ (661B)  
5 υπ]ο των εν η • (661C)  
μειν] δυναμ]ειων  
κρατ]ει δε και β[α

## Fr 1

- 1 ] . . . . . Perhaps the first line of the column, but the surface is stripped immediately above it.  
3 τηρε[ι τ]ο: ποιε[ι τ]ο T. Chiara Meccariello had suggested this reading, and a later conservation of the papyrus has confirmed it. For this use of τηρε, cf. e.g. γ226 δηλοειν αι χρονος, τα κρηα δεκσπτητα τηροαισι πολιν χρονον.

## Fr 2

- 1 ] . . . . . Only a small trace; then enough papyrus for about three letters, but the ink is now gone.  
2-4 In 2 the tail of final alpha is so extended as to suggest line-end. In that case 3 too probably ends with *ων*, though there is no margin to prove it. 4 is short: after the final η a blank with a heavy dot, which I have taken as a space-filler.  
4-5 η]μειν rather than -]μιν suggested by the spacing.

J. H. BRUSUELAS

## 5157. PLUTARCH, MORALIA 732E-F (QUAESTIONES CONVIVALES VIII 9.3)

57/15(e)

4.5 x 3.8 cm

Second century  
Plate IV

A scrap of a roll with line beginnings, written along the fibres. Left-hand and lower margins are preserved to 1 cm and 0.8 cm. There is an average of 15 letters per line, suggesting a column width of about 5 cm. The back is blank.

The text is written in a small informal and rather variable round hand. Letters sometimes touch. ω is rounded and looped at the centre. γ is v-shaped or looped at the base. x at line-beginning (α) has on the left a curved stroke ascending from

mid-line level connected to the descending oblique. The right-hand upright of N may be raised. λ may have a pointed or rounded loop. With the exception of p extending below the line, the hand is generally more or less bilinear. The hand of XLIX 3435, belonging to the second century, is similar.

Punctuation is by paragraphus in two forms (see 2 n.). There is no opportunity to observe the scribe's treatment of iota adscript or elision.

The papyrus does not come from the same roll as 5156. It yields no surprises, but offers yet another text produced within a generation of the author's lifetime.

αρμ[ονιαι λογου ε (732E)  
χουε[ι]ν α δε πλημμε  
λουειν ανθρω]ποι πε  
ρι λυραν και ω]ιδην και  
5 ορχηεν ο]υκ αν τις πε 732F  
ριλαβ]οι

- 2 The paragraphus apparently forks at its right-hand end: i.e. it is not the normal 'forked paragraphus' or *diplè obelismos*; for similar types Dr Henry refers to IX 1175 fr. 6.9 (pl. IV; Soph. fr. \*\*211), PSI XI 1212 fr. a.1, 21 (pl. vi); Cratin. fr. 171). Does the difference of form indicate a difference of function? The paragraphus here seems to mark a minor pause, while the standard paragraphus at 6 indicates a full stop after η]μ]ελαβ]οι.

χουε[ι]ν. The ε is badly damaged, and there is an exiguous trace of suprascript ink that I cannot explain.

J. H. BRUSUELAS

## 5158. PLUTARCH, MORALIA 963D (DE SOLLERTIA ANIMALIUM)

24 3B.72/C(d)

2.8 x 3.7 cm

Third century

A scrap with parts of eight lines written along the fibres. No margins are preserved. Line length ranges from 21 to 24 letters (about 7.3 cm). The back is blank.

The small hand, slightly sloping to the right, is a regular version of the Severe Style, assignable to the third century. The letters are angular and precisely formed, with the cross-bar of τ sometimes touching the following letter. n and η display their typical broadness in comparison with narrower ε and c, though these are not as narrow as one might expect in every instance. Bilinearity is breached by the descenders of ρ and γ. A similar hand is that of GLH 21A (II 223), of the early third century. There are no lectional signs and no evidence for the scribe's treatment of iota adscript or elision.

This part of the text is quoted by Porphyry, *De abstinentia* 3.24.3-4. In two places, the papyrus has acceptable readings hitherto attested only by Porphyry (1

εν πα]θει, 4 ε[τιν], confirming the value of his quotations for the establishment of the text: see in general J. Bouffartigue and M. Patillon, *Porphyre De l'abstinence* i (1977) p. lxxxiv. In the one place where Porphyry can be seen to have made a deliberate change, the papyrus agrees with the remainder of the direct tradition, as expected (6 εγω). A collation of Plutarch's text in this passage and the quotation in Porphyry, with commentary, is given by W. Pötscher, *Theophrastos περί εὐσεβείας* (1964) 5–12.

The papyrus is collated with the Teubner edition of K. Hubert (*Moralia* vi.1, 2<sup>1959</sup>), but for the quotation in Porphyry, the Budé edition of Bouffartigue-Patillon, *Porphyre De l'abstinence* ii (1979), has been used.

εστιν εν πα]θει γε[εσθα μη (963D)  
κεκτη[μ]νον δυνα[μιν ης το  
παθος ης]τερησις η π[ηρωσις η  
τις αλλη] κακωσις ες[τιν αλ  
5 λα μη εν]τετυχηκα[ς γε λυτ  
τωσαις κυσι]ν εγω δε [και ιπποσι  
]. [ αλω]πη[κ]α[ς

1 εν πα]θει with Porph.: ἐμπαθεῖ MSS. Although only the bottom half of ι is preserved, the turn-up of c was clearly not present. Bernardakis and Helmbold accept ἐν πάθει, while Hubert, Bouffartigue, and Pötscher 11 prefer ἐμπαθεῖ.

4 ε[τιν with Porph.: ἦν MSS. Either tense is possible: cf. Pötscher 11, who suggests that the present may be a corruption due to the influence of ἐστίν earlier in the sentence.

5 μην εὐτετυχηκα[ς restored with MSS: μή ἐτετυχηκα transmitted for Porphyry, whose Budé editors print μή ἐτετυχηκα, noting that the change to the first person will be due to his effort to remove evidence of the original dialogue form.

6 λυττωσαις: restored ἐκπαῖ γραία with the manuscripts (except Ψ, which give γλώσσας [γλωσσας β]) and Porph.

6 εγω with MSS. Porphyry's ἐγὼ does not suit the space. This further alteration was necessary following his change of ἐτετυχηκας to ἐτετυχηκα, which eliminated the contrast of persons. Cf. Pötscher 11.

7-8 The surface is stripped in line 7 except for a few shadowy traces. One may reconstruct the text ἐκπαῖ γραία as [ενοι δε φαι και βοκ μαι]νεθα και αλω]πη[κ]α[ς.

8 αλω]πη[κ]α[ς: ἀλώσις MSS Porph. The rare spelling with -η- outside the nominative singular is found in a fourth-century letter (JLX 3998 37) and metrically guaranteed at Opp. Gym. 1.433 and [Apolin.] *Metaph.* Pt. 62.21; here it may be due to analogy with nom. ἀλώσις or to the phonetic interchange ε/η common in papyri of the Roman period; cf. Gignac, *Grammat.* i 242-9. Above the ετ there is further ink: some of it might be interpreted as the lower arc and cross-bar of a correcting ετ, but if so it is due to a different hand (the mid-stroke is longer and more pronounced, with a sharp downward slope), and in any case some ink remains unexplained.

## IV. SUBLITERARY TEXTS

## 5159. CHAPTER ON TETRASYLLABIC FEET

102/89(b)

Fr. 1 5.8 × 4 cm  
Fr. 2 6.5 × 6.6 cm

Second half of third century

Two fragments from a leaf of a papyrus codex containing definitions and examples of tetrasyllabic feet, probably part of a metrical treatise or schoolbook. Fr. 1 is from the top of the leaf with an upper margin of at least 1.2 cm. Reconstruction of the text on the basis of the order of feet in parallel works (see below) shows that ↓ must precede →, and suggests that only one line separates fr. 2 from fr. 1. This proximity is supported by the continuity of the fibre patterns between the two fragments on the ↓ side. A left margin of 4 mm is preserved in ↓ fr. 2. The full width of the column can be estimated at 67.5 cm.

The writing is in an informal hand of medium size that is hardly bilinear and sometimes leans slightly to the right. It shows some kinship to the 'Severe' or 'Formal Mixed' style; cf. small and raised σ, λ sometimes with pointed nose, narrow ε with protruding midstroke. Other noteworthy letters are Δ with a long base extending beyond its sides (especially on the left) and a looped apex, c with straight back, γ-shaped γ with a short left-hand arm attached to a right-leaning vertical, φ with a compressed, oval-shaped loop, and relatively small, flat-bottomed ω with rounded extremities. The hand may be placed in the later third century; compare LII 3662, a papyrus of the *Iliad* assignable to the second half of the third century because written on the back of a house-property register from the first half of that century, and P. Flor. II 259 (*GLH* 22d), a letter from c.260. The scribe does not write any punctuation or accents, but he places a forked paragraphus (or *diple obelismene*; see *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 12) before the indented heading of the present chapter in ↓ fr. 1.3, and fills the blank space at the end of the preceding section (↓ fr. 1.2) with the same sign. The contents of ↓ fr. 1.1-2 are uncertain as a result of heavy abrasion and small lacunae; groups of letters, separated by small blank spaces, are surmounted by horizontal strokes, such as are found in grammatical papyri to emphasize special terms and examples or to mark syllables under discussion.

The greater part of the papyrus consists of a list of tetrasyllabic feet with definitions and examples in the following format: (1) name of foot; (2) number and length of syllables constituting the foot, introduced by ἐκ (see ↓ fr. 1.5-6 n.); (3) number of its χρόνοι or time-units (see ↓ fr. 2.2 n.); and (4) a one-word example introduced by ὀλον. The third chapter of Hephaestion's *Enchiridion* (second century AD) is our earliest attestation and systematic exposition of the sixteen tetrasyllabic feet (κύβητοι πῶδες), which were considered to be composed out of the shorter

feet (*ἀπλοὶ πόδες*) and some of which (e.g. the dispondeus) were mere theoretical possibilities rather than units actually used and recognized in ancient metrical analysis (*κύβητοι πόδες* are first mentioned by Aristoxenus, *Elementa rhythmica* 2.22, 26, pp. 14–16 Pearson).

The format of presentation of feet in **5159** (name of foot *ἐκ . . . π-χρονοῦ σπον . . .*) recurs in a number of *περὶ ποδῶν* sections in Greek and Latin metrical and grammatical treatises, compendia, and appendices of the late Roman and Byzantine periods. Notable examples in this specific format are the so-called *Appendix Dionysiaca* (Suppl. III to the *τέχνη γραμματική* that goes under the name of Dionysius Thrax, ed. G. Uhlig, *Grammatici graeci* 1.1 117–21) and *Appendix Rhetorica* (Parisinus gr. 1893 fol. 3–4), both printed in M. Consrbruch, *Hephaestionis Enchiridion cum commentariis veteribus* (1906) 307–9 and 337–9 respectively; for a similar format in Latin (name of foot *ex . . . temporum n ut . . .*), cf. Diomedes (fourth century) in H. Keil, *Grammatici latini* I 480–81, Donatus (fourth century), *GL IV* 370 = L. Holtz, *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical* (1981) 608, and the *Breviatio pedum*, *GL VI* 307–8. The papyrus is now probably our earliest example of this schema. The fact that it also appears in two school papyri from late antique Egypt (see below) suggests that it was originally devised as a pedagogical *aide-memoire* to provide students with a handy and succinct summary of the names and shapes of metrical feet; cf. Diomedes, *GL I* 481: *has omnes (sc. pedes), cum de metri tractatu aliquid legimus, diligentius considerare et in memoria habere debemus, ut singuli quique versus quibus pedibus consistit scire possimus*. Knowledge of these feet was essential because some of them are the basis of the *μέτρα πρωτότυπα* with which poetry was analysed according to the predominant metrical theory in antiquity; cf. Aristides Quintilianus, *De musica* I 23 ed. Winnington-Ingram *ἐκ δὴ τῶν ποδῶν ἐννικεῖσθαι τὰ μέτρα*, and see R. Pretagostini in *Lo spazio letterario della Grecia antica* 1.2 (1992–6) 372–81. On sections about metrical feet in metrical, grammatical, and rhetorical treatises, cf. in general J. Laque Moreno, *De pedibus, de metris: las unidades de medida en la rítmica y en la métrica antiguas* (1995).

The sequence of feet in such works varies considerably; see W. Hoerschelmann, *Ein griechisches Lehrbuch der Metrik: literarhistorische Studien* (1888) ch. vi, and Laque Moreno, *De pedibus* ch. 7. In its arrangement of tetrasyllabic feet the papyrus is broadly in agreement with the following works:

α) Aristides Quintilianus I 22 (second or third century).

β) A number of Latin grammatical and metrical treatises from the late second/early third century onwards: Terentianus Maurus (second/third century), *GL VI* 369–72 = C. Cignolo, *Terentiani Mauri De litteris, de syllabis, de metris* (2002) I 105–13; Marius Plotius Sacerdos (third century), *GL VI* 499; Diomedes (fourth century), *GL I* 480–81; Donatus (fourth century), *GL IV* 370; Aphthonius (fourth century), *GL VI* 47–8 (transmitted with the *Ars grammatica* of Marius Victorinus); *Ars Palaemonis de metrica institutione*, *GL VI* 207–8 (= *GL VII* 335); *Breviatio pedum*, *GL VI* 307–8; *De pedibus*, *GL VI* 646.

- γ) A group of related sections of Byzantine handbooks and compendia: Book V of the 'Scholia B' to Hephaestion in Consrbruch, *Hephaestionis Enchiridion* 298–303; Isaac Monachus (fourteenth century), *Περὶ μέτρων ποιητικῶν*, in L. Bachmann, *Anecdota graeca* (1828) II 174–7 (on foot names), 177–9 (foot list); Pseudo-Draco in J. G. Hermann, *Draconis Stratonicensis Liber de metris poeticis* (1812) 127–33 (the author was in fact a sixteenth-century writer by the name of Jacob Diassorinos, and the second section of his work is virtually a copy of Isaac; see L. Cohn in *Philologische Abhandlungen, Martin Hertz . . . dargebracht* (1888) 133–43); Pseudo-Hephaestion §17, in H. zur Jacobsbuchlen, *Pseudo-Hephaestion De metris* (1886) 33–5 = *Dissertationes philologicae Argentoratenses* 10: 219–21; Pseudo-Moschopolus (after thirteenth century), in F. N. Tizze, *Manuelis Moschopoli cretensis Opuscula grammatica* (1822) 49–50. Add now Georgius Gemistus (fourteenth/fifteenth century), *Περὶ παιδείας*, in M. Scialuga, *AAT* 129 (1995) 3–34 at 19. For a general overview of some of these Byzantine compilations, see K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (1897) 594–8. Isaac's foot list alone displays the same schematic format of presentation as **5159**.

Hephaestion ch. III, the *Appendix Dionysiaca*, the *Appendix Rhetorica* (with one exception), and related works follow a strictly quantitative ordering principle and present the tetrasyllabic feet in ascending order according to number of *χρονοὶ* or time-units (the main difference between them being the arrangement of the *ἐξάχρονοι* feet). The above-cited works and **5159**, however, belong to a different tradition that was evidently more widespread in late Roman and early Byzantine times. They place the longest foot (the dispondeus of eight time-units) in second position following directly after the shortest foot (the proclameumatic of four time-units). Moreover, they group the paeones (five time-units) and epitrites (seven time-units) together because of their formal resemblance, while the *ἐξάχρονοι* are moved from their quantitatively intermediary position between paeones and epitrites to stand before the paeones (except in Diomedes and Ps.-Moschopolus, who move them after the epitrites). There is some variation in the order of the *ἐξάχρονοι* feet within this collection of works (see Hoerschelmann, *Lehrbuch* 38), and it is their arrangement by Isaac and Ps.-Hephaestion that happens to correspond to the papyrus' specific presentation of these feet. The full arrangement of tetrasyllabic feet in **5159**, therefore, would have been as follows (feet between square brackets have not been preserved):

- 1 προκλεμειατικός ( ~ ~ ~ ~ )
- 2 δισπόνδειος ( - - - - )
- 3 διτρώγχιος ( ~ ~ ~ ~ )
- 4 διάριμβος ( ~ ~ ~ ~ )
- 5 χορίαμβος ( ~ ~ ~ ~ )
- 6 ἀντίστατος ( ~ ~ ~ ~ )

- 7 (or 8) [ἰωνικός ἀπὸ μείζονος (— ∪ ∪)]  
 8 (or 7) [ἰωνικός ἀπ' ἐλάττωνος (∪ ∪ —)]
- 9 [παῖων πρῶτος (— ∪ ∪ ∪)]  
 10 [παῖων δεύτερος (∪ — ∪ ∪)]  
 11 παῖων τρίτος (∪ ∪ — ∪)  
 12 παῖων τέταρτος (∪ ∪ ∪ —)
- 13 πρῶτος ἐπίτριτος (∪ — — —)  
 14 δεύτερος ἐπίτριτος (— ∪ — —)  
 15 τρίτος ἐπίτριτος (— — — ∪)  
 16 τέταρτος ἐπίτριτος (— — — ∪)

As to the one-word examples illustrating the feet, one is common to all works that have examples (↓ fr. 2.3 Ἡρακλείδης), while two partly damaged ones are potentially reconcilable with attested examples (see → fr. 1.2, 5 nn.). The papyrus, however, also offers at least four new examples not previously attested in any work, and its use of δόχμιος as an alternative name of ἐπίτριτος is rare among metricians (see → fr. 1.5 n.).

The uncertain content of the top of ↓ fr. 1, which does not seem to be a similar exposition of feet, is problematic. We can either suppose that a discussion of some kind intervened between the exposition of trisyllabic feet and that of tetrasyllabic feet, or that the list of tetrasyllabic feet was not part of a comprehensive presentation of feet, but was introduced at this point for some other purpose or was a self-standing section.

The appearance of new examples not paralleled elsewhere in the tradition is a characteristic of two similar lists of feet found on papyri. The fifth-century PSI I 18 (M—P<sup>3</sup> 344 = 5 Wouters = 405 Crihiore) contains an early version of the *Appendix Dionysiaca* preserving only the last two trisyllabic feet and coming before the τέχνη of 'Dionysius Thrax' rather than after it as in the medieval manuscripts (like the fifth-century Armenian translation of the τέχνη and its supplements, it omits the tetrasyllabic feet). For the last foot (the molossus) two examples rather than the usual single example are given, and the second of them (Ἡρακλῆς) is unattested in the other lists. P. IFAO inv. 320 (M—P<sup>3</sup> 2644 = 406 Crihiore), a miscellaneous school-book of the late fifth or early sixth century, contains a paragraph listing disyllabic feet (fols. m' and iv'). Two of its examples are different from those in other lists, one occurs only in one medieval manuscript, and another is common to almost all the other lists. (The small and fragmentary P. Giss. Univ. IV 43 i 5–7 (M—P<sup>3</sup> 2171; first or second century BC) has ἐ[τ]ὶν ὀρ[ι]μός [ . . . τρ]εῖς κυλλαβαί εἰεν [ . . . ] ἐστὶ βραχεία; but it is unclear whether this was a systematic discussion of feet.) The occurrence of the rather technical tetrasyllabic feet does not suggest that 5159 was an elementary school text like PSI 18 and P. IFAO inv. 320, although there is nothing

to rule out its use by a more advanced student under a γραμματικός. For a brief survey of the relatively few papyri discussing metre, see T. Renner, *Pap. Congr. XXIII* 600–601.

The notes focus on some metrical terms and examples of particular interest, and collate the examples of feet with the other works that have them. It will be useful to divide these works into three groups, following and supplementing Hoerschelmann, *Lehrbuch* ch. vii:

Group I = Ps.-Hephaestion §2 (supra cit.); Isaac Monachus (supra cit.); sometimes Ioannes Siculus in C. Walz, *Rhetores graeci* vi (1834) 237–40.

Group II = *Appendix Dionysiaca* (supra cit.); *Anonymi commentarius in Hermogenem* in Walz, *Rhetores graeci* vii.2 (1834) 988–90; Nicetas Serrarium (eleventh century) in W. J. W. Koster, *Tractatus graeci de re metrica inediti* (1922) 103–5; Ps.-Moschopolus (supra cit.); *Tractatus Harleianus* in T. Gaisford, *Hephaestius Alexandrini Enchiridion* (1855) i 317–18; Ps.-Hephaestion §20 (supra cit.).

Group III = *Appendix Rhetorica* (supra cit.); *Tractatus de pedibus* (a. 1451) in Koster, *Tractatus graeci* 121–3.

When individual works or manuscripts within a group differ from their relatives, they are cited separately. I also cite the Latin grammarians and metricians who occasionally use Greek examples to illustrate the relevant feet (Terentianus Maurus, Donatus, Aphthonius), Parisinus gr. 2676 fol. 2<sup>r</sup> is a particularly poor version of the foot list and does not follow any particular tradition. For its unique and sometimes peculiar examples (not cited in the notes), see Hoerschelmann, *Lehrbuch* 43–4 (cf. also 40).

I am grateful to Dr Martin L. West for kindly reading and commenting on a final draft of this edition.

↓ Fr. 1	. . . ἄρ[ι] . . . ἄρ[ι] ἀρ[ι] > . . . ἔρ[ι] τ[ι] > — [ . . . ] π[ι] . . . [ . . . ] ὀδωντ[ι] . . . ε[ι] . . . [ . . . ] , c , τ[ι] . . . [ . . . ] 5 π[ι] . . . [ . . . ]	→ Fr. 1	] κρ[ι] κακ[ι] β[ι] . . . . . ἀσπ[ι] [ . . . ] ] . . . [ . . . ] δωροστα[ι] ] τ[ι] ος κτ[ι] ρωνβραχει ] κρ[ι] [ . . . ] π[ι] εν , αχρονος 5 ] η[ι] [ . . . ] [ . . . ] . . . κ[ι] [ . . . ]
↓ Fr. 2	. . . [ . . . ] [ . . . ] . . . ] ἀρ[ι] . . . μακρο[ι] οκτα[ι] . . . ] ἰω , ηρακλει , η[ι] ε[ι] δ[ι] ε[ι] κμακρας . . . βραχει[ι]	→ Fr. 2	. . . ] ὠ , μα[ι] [ . . . ] [ . . . ] . . . ] κ[ι] β[ι] ρηντ[ι] , δ[ι] . . . ] π[ι] ριτ[ι] ος δευτερ[ι] . . . [ . . . ] ] μακρ[ι] κακ[ι] β[ι] ραχει[ι] ας κ[ι]

v	κρσκαβραχαισαε . [	5	] μακρωνεπαχρονοσ
	οιονηρο . ρο δ [		] φρ δεστηδοχημοσ
	εκβραχειασκαμα [		] επιτριγοστρι . οσεκδ [
	βραχειασκ [ . ] . κρ [		] . . κ ιβραχειασκα
	χρσοσο ο [		] χρον . . ιων [
10	. . ] . κ . κ [	10	] . δηεδοχ [

## 4 Fr 1

1 . . ., three tiny dots at about two-thirds height (space could accommodate two letters); part of an upper arc or small circle (e.g.  $\lambda$ ,  $\epsilon$ ,  $\sigma$ ,  $\omega$ ) [first, lower arc at bottom of lacuna ( $\lambda$ ?  $\sigma$ ?  $\omega$ ?), upright leaning slightly to the right with join at top, or apex of triangular letter, then after small lacuna dot level with letter tops [second, lower semicircle at line level, then further to the right thick trace of descending oblique at two-thirds height (bottom and tail of  $\lambda$ ?)] 2  $\epsilon$ ,  $\tau$  or (less likely)  $\Gamma$  . . ., horizontal at two-thirds height, then dot at line level (foot of upright?); traces compatible with  $\tau$ ; after abraded surface, apparently an upright, perhaps with a join at top 3  $\pi$ , horizontal bar and second leg [descender (like  $\pi$ )]  $\rho$ ,  $\pi$  or  $\Gamma$ ; left half of small raised circle 4  $\tau$ , top left perpendicular junction 4 . . ., upright, then after small abraded surface dot at mid-height  $\sigma$ , long horizontal at line level extending slightly below  $\sigma$  (like base of  $\lambda$ ) [first, short upright with apparent horizontal join from right] 5 . . ., thick trace like upper half of upright  $\epsilon$ , foot of upright(?), then thick dot at line level (displaced) [second, thick trace at two-thirds height 5 . . .], thick trace level with letter tops resembling the upper part of an arc or circle; dot level with letter tops; top of thick upright

## v Fr 2

1 . . ., foot of upright leaning to the right with a small hooked serif 2 . . ., small right-facing semicircle at line level ( $\lambda$ ,  $\sigma$ ,  $\omega$ ); upright slanting to the right, then dot at line level  $\omega$ , descending oblique ( $\kappa$ ,  $\nu$ ) 3  $\sigma$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\mu$ , or  $\nu$  . . ., long base (as of  $\lambda$ ) 4 . . ., tall upright then two dots equidistant from it (one near line level, the other higher); apex composed of junction of two obliques ( $\lambda$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\lambda$ ); two vertically aligned dots suggesting an upright 5 . . ., tall upright then at top short horizontal bar with raised extremities; very short vertical trace near line level 6  $\sigma$  . . ., long base (as of  $\lambda$ );  $\sigma$  or  $\omega$   $\sigma$ , displaced high dot [traces of upright leaning to the right 8 [thick trace level with letter tops] . . ., top of upright; upper tip of tall upright or apex [speaks on edge 9  $\sigma$ , foot of upright slightly below line level [thick upright on edge 10 [upper arc ( $\epsilon$ ,  $\sigma$ ,  $\tau$ ); short horizontal or upper arc level with letter tops, below it another horizontal extending further to the right (compatible with top and midstroke of  $\epsilon$ )  $\sigma$  . . ., two parallel uprights; thick ascending oblique or juncture of two obliques (as in nose of  $\lambda$ ), then flattened end of descending oblique [  $\sigma$  or  $\Gamma$

## → Fr 1

1 ]  $\sigma$ , arms only . . . . ., first, descender; second,  $\lambda$ ,  $\lambda$ , or (less likely)  $\Delta$ ; third,  $x$  or  $\kappa$ ; fourth and fifth,  $\epsilon$  or  $\nu$  [upper part of upright with joins from the right at top and two-thirds height Above  $\beta$  there are some traces of ink, but they are exiguous and indistinct, and seem too close to the first line to be a page number 2 ] short upright (perhaps displaced) . . ., first, thick trace at around mid-height; second, after small hole top of upright leaning to the right; third, thick and confused trace slightly below line level; above it to the right two short, parallel horizontals a short distance apart (slightly displaced?); the last two sets of traces may belong to separate letters [ . . .

upper arc above extended base of  $\lambda$  3 ] . . ., small upper arc ( $\sigma$ ,  $\Gamma$ )  $\epsilon$ , dot at line level and short horizontal at mid-height 4 ] . . ., thin horizontal almost touching foot of  $\kappa$  [ . . ., right-hand tip of horizontal or upper arc level with letter tops  $\nu$ ,  $\Gamma$  or  $\tau$  5 ] . . ., small trace of descending oblique then upright (perhaps with join at foot); most likely  $\nu$  [ . . ., broad upper arc (compatible with top-left arm of  $x$ ) [ . . ., trace of short upright with perpendicular join at top ( $\epsilon$ ?); or  $\Gamma$  [ . . .,  $\lambda$  or  $\Delta$

## → Fr 2

1 ]  $\sigma$ ,  $\mu$ , second half of  $\omega$ ; dot at line level, then after small lacuna another dot; second half of  $\mu$  [ . . ., foot of long descender 2 ]  $\rho$ ; part of oblique and second upright  $\kappa$ , foot of upright at line level . . ., upright; part of upper arc at mid-height 3 ] . . ., speak level with letter tops [ . . ., dot at mid-height 6 ] . . ., thick trace at line level touching loop of  $\phi$   $\rho$ , speak at mid-height 7  $\epsilon$ ,  $\nu$  . . ., left-hand tip of thick horizontal level with letter tops, then faint trace of upright  $\epsilon$   $\delta$  [ . . ., somewhat confused traces on dirty surface, but it is possible to make out  $\kappa$  and  $\Delta$  then the foot of an upright 8 ] . . ., small loop ( $\sigma$  or  $\Gamma$ ); short horizontal then left-facing arc ( $\omega$ ?); slight trace of an upright leaning slightly to the right  $\kappa$ , apex of  $\lambda$ ,  $\Delta$ , or  $\lambda$  9 . . ., small trace of horizontal or lower arc at line level; dot at line level and another above it at around mid-height; damaged surface with confused traces at mid-height, but small loop discernible [ . . ., top of upright or apex slightly above letter tops 10 ] . . ., dot level with letter tops on edge [ . . .,  $\mu$  or (less likely)  $\nu$

## ↓

Fr 1	$\overline{\nu}$ . [ . ] . ] ἀρσ αρ [ ] $\overline{\epsilon}$ . ε̄ ρ [ . ] . ] >— [ ] περι [ ] προδών τ [ ] πόδες [ε] [ε] τετ[ρα]κόλλοβοι [ε] ] 5 προ[κ]ελευματικὸς ἐκ τεσσάρων [ ] [βραχειῶν, τετράχρονος, ὀλον [ ]
Fr 2	$\nu$ . $\nu$ . $\nu$ . $\nu$ . δ [ε] [σπονδευοσ ἐκ τεσ- [ ] [ε] άρων μακρών, διετάχρονος, [ ] [ο] ἴων Ἡρακλειδης δι[τ]ρόχαιοσ [ ] ἐκ μακρὰσ κα[ι] βραχει[σ] κα[ι] μα- [ ] 5 κρὰσ κα[ι] βραχει[σ], ἐξ[έ] [α] χρονοσ, [ ] ὀλον Μηνώμοροσ. δι[ε] [α] μβοσ [ ] ἐκ βραχει[σ] κα[ι] μα[κ]ρά[σ] κα[ι] [ ] βραχει[σ] κα[ι] μα[κ]ρά[σ], ἐξ[έ] [ ] χρονοσ, ὀλον [ν] . τ . ν . χορίαμ- [ ] 10 [βο]σ ἐκ μακρ[ά]σ κα[ι] δύο βραχει- [ ]

## →

Fr 1	[κα[ι] μα] κρὰσ κα[ι] βραχει[σ], πε[ν]- [ ] [τάχρονοσ], [ο] ἴων [ε] [ῥόμοροσ. πα[ι] [ε]- [ ] [ὼν τέτα] γτοσ ἐκ τριῶν βραχει- [ ] [ὼν κα] μακρ[ά]σ, πεντάχρονοσ, [ ]
------	--

- 5 [οἶον ὦ ὦ ὦ]η[.] δὲ[χ]μο[ς] ὁ κρ[α][ι]  
[ἐπίτριτος πρίτος ἐκ βραχέας]
- Fr. 2 [καὶ τρι]ών μα[κ]ρ[ε]ών, ἐπτάχρο-  
[νος, οἶον] κυβερνήτης, δ[ό]χυμ-  
[ος ὁ καὶ] ἐπίτριτος δευτέρου[ς]  
[ἐκ] μακρὰς καὶ βραχέας κα[ὶ]  
5 [δίο] μακρῶν, ἐπτάχρονος,  
[οἶον] ἄφροδίτη, δόχυμος  
[ὁ καὶ] ἐπίτριτος τρίτος ἐκ δ[ό]σο  
[μακρῶν καὶ βραχέας καὶ  
[μακρὰς, ἐπτά]χρονος, οἶον, [...]  
10 [ εἰς ] δης, δόχυμ[ο]ς

(4) . . . On tetrasyllabic (?) feet. There are 16 tetrasyllabic feet: Proceleumaticus, out of four shorts, four time-units, such as . . . Dispondeus, out of four longs, eight time-units, such as "Hercleides". Ditrochaeus, out of a long, a short, a long, and a short, six time-units, such as "Menodorus". Diambus, out of a short, a long, a short, and a long, six time-units, such as . . . Choriambus, out of a long, two shorts, (and a long, six time-units, such as . . .) . . . (Third paeon, out of two shorts), (-+) a long, and a short, five time-units, such as "-odorus". Fourth paeon, out of three shorts and a long, five time-units, such as . . . First dochmius or epirite, out of a short and three longs, seven time-units, such as "Isabretius" ("helsman"). Second dochmius or epirite, out of a long, a short, and two longs, seven time-units, such as "Aphrodite". Third dochmius or epirite, out of two longs, a short, and a long, seven time-units, such as "-des". (Fourth) dochmius . . .

→ Fr. 1

- 3 πρε[ι] πρῶν τ[.] Probably restore τ[ετρακυλλάβων].  
4 πρῆς [τ]ε[τ]ρακυλλάβων τ[.] The reading and restoration of what follows πρῆς is based on a suggestion by Dr W. Benjamin Henry.  
5-6 [ε . . . βραχειῶν]: a compressed expression for *εὐκλειμενος* (*vel sim*) *ἐκ τεσσάρων βραχειῶν κυλλάβων*.

→ Fr. 2

- 2 δειπ[α]χρος. A (πρίτος) χρόνος was considered the smallest time-unit and was equated with the length of a short syllable, with two χρόνοι naturally corresponding to a long syllable. It is equivalent to what rhythmicians called a *σμειος*; see Aristides Quintilianus I 14 and J. M. van Ophuijzen, *Hephaestion on Metre: A Translation and Commentary* (1987) 55-6. For more complex ancient definitions of χρόνος, see the brief description and references in M. L. West, *Greek Metre* (1982) 193.  
3 Ἑρακλειῆς. This example is universal among Greek lists. Aphthonius has *Callicleides*.  
6 Μηρόφορος: a new example and a common name. Group I and II have *Ἀρχέδημος* (*Ἀρχιδάμος* in Ps.-Moschopolus). The *App. Rhét.* of Group III has *Παιδαγόρας*, but as Hoerschelmann, *Lehrbuch* 42, notes, this is probably a mistake for *παιδαγωγός*, which is the reading of *Tractatus de pedibus*. Other manuscripts have *Ἐκτόρεος* and *Νικόλαος*; see Hoerschelmann, *Lehrbuch* 42-3. *Zenodorus* in Aphthonius is the closest to the papyrus' example, but cannot be read here.  
9 οἶος: [τ . . . ὦ ὦ]. Most Greek lists have *Ἐπικρέων* as the example for the diambus, but given

the papyrus' new examples for many other feet, it would be imprudent to assume that this name stood here. *Tract. de ped.* has *Ἀθησίωσ*, Aphthonius *Simonides*, Diomedes *Chionides*, and Terentianus Maurus *Corinthius*.

→ Fr. 1

2 . . . [δ]όφυρος. The small raised upper arc before δ is almost certainly ο, but the preceding space is damaged by a hole, and the initial traces, which could represent either one or two letters, are rather puzzling (see palaeographical apparatus). *Θεόδωρος* of Group I and *Διόδωρος* are difficult to reconcile with the traces. Group II has *Κλεόβουλος*, Group III *Φιλόδημος*, Aphthonius *Ἐπίριμος*, Terentianus Maurus *Menelaus*, while Donatus, the *Breviatio pedum* (GL VI 308), and *De pedibus* (GL VI 646) give *Menelaus*.

5 . . . ὦ ὦ η[.] . . n is the letter most likely to fit the traces before η, so that *Θεοφάνης* of Group I, *Ἐπιφάνης* of Groups II and III, and Aphthonius' *Diogenes* would all be suitable. Terentianus Maurus has *Πελοπίδας* (cf. *Πελοπίδης* in Parisinus gr. 2676 fol. 2).

δ[ό]χυμ[ο]ς. The use of the term *δόχυμος* as an alternative to *ἐπίτριτος* is rare in the writings of metrists and similar lists of feet. Only the commentary of Choeroboscus (eighth century) on chapter III of Hephaestion (p. 219 Conbruch) and the *Anonymi Ambrosiani De re metrica* (in G. Scudemann, *Ancient Latin Grammatica, musica, metrica, grammatica* (1886) 293) offer it for the first and second epirites (v - - - and - v - -), and Book V of the Scholia B to Hephaestion (p. 303 Conbruch) for the first epirite. 5159, in contrast, gives the term *δόχυμος* as an alternative to *ἐπίτριτος* for all four epirites and even presents it first, whereas the above works cite it among other alternative names of the epirite (*σπασμος*, *καρμὰς*). Ancient theories of the dochmiac are far from unanimous and clear, but the *δόχυμος* or *δοχυμαχὲς* was generally considered a *σύνμικτος* or metron (for a species of a metron like the anispaest) constituted by smaller feet rather than a foot in its own right; cf. Choeroboscus' statement at p. 239 Conbruch: (τὸ *δοχυμακὸν*) κατὰ πέντα μετρήται (cf. similarly *Quint. Inst.* 9.4.79-80). For an overview of ancient views, see C. Del Grande in *La lingua greca nei mezzi della sua espressione* II (1960) 368-9, and J. W. White, *The Verse of Greek Comedy* (1912) 295 8624. Among the few writers who admit and name pentasyllabic 'feet', namely Diomedes (GL I 481-2) and the *Anonymi Ambrosiani De re metrica* (in Studemann, *Ancient Latin Grammatica* 232-5; cf. *Anonymus Bevilianensis*, ibid. 295-6), a seven-time-unit *δόχυμος* ἢ προσάκμαχος is cited with the scheme - v - v -, which can be viewed as a version of the third epirite with resolution of the first long; otherwise the *σπασδοχμὸς* (- v - v -) and the *δόχυμος* κατὰ *εὐκλείμω* (v - - - v) in these lists are *δυσάκμαχοι*.

In tragedy, the sequence - - - - (= 'first epirite') is sometimes interpreted as a syncopated or catalectic dochmiac (U. von Wilamowitz, *Griechische Verskunst* (1921) 407; W. S. Barrett on Eur. *Hi.* 811-16; West, *Greek Metre* 111; against, N. C. Conomis, *Hermes* 92 (1964) 34-5; J. Diggle, *Euripidea* (1994) 107, 395; C. W. Willink, *JCS* 27-8 (2002-3) 36-7 (= *Collected Papers on Greek Tragedy* (2010) 575) with n. 34); but in view of its rarity it is unlikely that its detection was the origin of the use of *δόχυμος* for *ἐπίτριτος*. Moreover, this phenomenon would not explain why *δόχυμος* is applied to the first two epirites by Choeroboscus and the *Anonymus Ambrosianus* and to all four epirites by the papyrus (only Book V of the Scholia B to Hephaestion limits it to the first epirite), unless we assume that they applied the term mechanically to the other epirites in analogy with the first epirite.

Another possibility is that this rare use of *δόχυμος* as an alternative name of *ἐπίτριτος* implies an analysis of the dochmiac metron as an epirite plus one syllable, i.e. as a hypercatalectic epirite. Since many metra took their names from their main constituent foot (e.g. *ιαμβος* > *ιαμβικός*; cf. van Ophuijzen, *Hephaestion* 15-16), some ancient metrists may have started applying the term *δόχυμος* (πρῶτος) to the *ἐπίτριτος* by analogy, because this foot was interpreted as constituting the *δοχυμακὸν* μετρον. In other words, this would be the reverse of the way metra are usually named after feet; in this case, the foot (*ἐπίτριτος*) would derive its second name (*δόχυμος*) from the metron (*δοχυμακὸν*).



Two passages can be adduced as evidence for such an analysis of the dochmiac, although both are late. First, there is a statement in Choeroboscus' commentary on Hephaestion (p. 240 Conbruch) that (ἀν . . . τῷ δοχμίῳ ἐπιτραπέδιον καὶ κυλλὰβη). Conbruch brackets this sentence because it clearly breaks the flow of the passage and does not make sense at this point. But whatever its original placement in Choeroboscus' discussion (cf. Conbruch's note on p. 233 lines 17–18), it betrays perhaps the existence of a metrical theory in antiquity that considered the dochmiac metron to be composed out of one or more of the four epiptic feet. The forms that would be obtained through this definition are: - - - - - and - - - - - . The first and last of these are possible dochmiacs, but not the third and probably not the second (cf. West, *Oxoniensis* 110 n. 9; Diggle, *Euripidis* 150). Another passage that suggests a similar view of the dochmiac is found in the Scholia A to Hephaestion (p. 122 Conbruch), where the scholiast analyzes Hephaestion's first example of his 'antispastic penthemimer called dochmiac' (ὁλόνη μάλιστα, p. 39 Conbruch) as a fourth epiptic plus a syllable, because he (wrongly) considers κλυ- a long syllable. From such an analysis of the δοχμιακός as an epiptic plus one syllable, it is not a big step to call its constituent epiptic foot a δόχμιας. If this definition of the dochmiac was voiced in antiquity, and if it is the explanation of the use here of δόχμιας for ἐπιτραπέδιον, it evidently did not gain wide currency. Its main weakness and the probable reason for its limited diffusion is that it does not allow the derivation of the typical and most common form of the dochmiac - - - - -, recognized by both ancient and modern metricians.

→ Fr. 2

2 κερβερότης: a new example. *Κερβετός* is the example given by virtually all Greek lists. Ioannes Siculus has *Τωάνθη* and Aphthonius *Αντιόλης*. The papyrus' example is a rare exception to the general tendency of such lists to offer personal names as examples, especially for tetrasyllabic feet. Common personal names or those of famous individuals must have been considered an effective means of illustrating and retaining the syllabic patterns of feet. Students will already have been familiar with lists of names from elementary reading exercises; cf. lines 67–114 of the *Line d'Académie* (M 3C) published by Guéraud and Jouquet (M<sup>3</sup> 2642) with its list of mostly personal names from two to ten syllables, and R. Cribrione, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (1996) 43 and nos. 101, 105, 106, 109, 112, 113, 118, 124 in her catalogue of school exercises.

6 Ἡφροδίτη: read *Ἡφροδίτη* (the spelling with εἰ is perhaps chosen to mark unequivocally a long iota). Another new example. Names of Greek gods and goddesses are virtually absent from other lists. *Εὐρυμέδων* is the example of Groups I and II and *Tract. de ped.*, *Ἡρραμύδων* that of *App. Rhét.*, Terentianus Maurus, and Aphthonius, and *Nicomachus* that of the *Brevitatio pedum* (GL VI 306b). Ioannes Siculus gives erroneously *Ἡρακλείδης*, while *Tract. de ped.* adds the unintelligible example *ετρενιγρόδης*.

9-10 . . . [.] [ε9], θος. Whatever the beginning of the word, this is again a new example, for *Δημοσθένης* is the example of almost all Greek and Latin lists (with the exception of *Tract. de ped.*, which has *Ἡρωδίου*). The ending suggests that the example is a personal name with a patronymic termination. The last trace in 9 is compatible with the tip of a tall upright or the apex of α, α, or perhaps λ; no more than one letter can be missing after it on that line. The lacuna in the following line can accommodate 8–10 letters, and the high dot at the edge of the papyrus before 8 could be the upper tip of an upright, e.g. ι. It is difficult to think of a suitable personal name that is long enough for the large lacuna in 10 (*Ἡρακλείδης*, *Μηρομύδων*, *Δεζαμύδων*, *Ανακλείδων*, *Ασπερίδων*, obtained through an online search of the *LGFN*) would be too short and were in any case too uncommon to have served as memorable examples). Perhaps the trace after ν in 9 is a mere stray mark and the example began in 10.

A. BENAÏSSA

### 5160. COMMENTARY ON EUPOLIS' GOATS (?)

101/175(a)

12.8 × 23.5 cm

Second/third century  
Plate V

Extensive stretches of two columns of a roll, together with a single line beginning from a third at the level of ii 96. The back is blank. The text is written in a medium-sized upright 'severe' hand comparable to those of XXXVII 2804 (Sophocles?, later n) and XVII 2098 (Herodotus, II/III; *GLH* 19b), which has on its back a land survey assigned to the reign of Gallienus. The lower margin is preserved at the foot of col. ii to a depth of 1.7 cm. A line of text was about 5.1 cm wide and held about 17 letters. The intercolumnium is generally about 1.6 cm wide, but narrower (about 1.2 cm wide) to the left of ii 13, which projects slightly. The 40 preserved lines of col. ii occupy an area 21.7 cm high.

Corrections have been executed in several places. There are supralinear additions at i 10 and ii 28, and changes made on the line at i 16 and ii 35, all of which may be due to a second hand. Lection signs include, besides the high point added at i 16, an apostrophe (ii 15) and tremas on ε, organic (i 5, ii 39) and inorganic (i 14), all probably due to the original scribe. Except at ii 15, elision is unmarked. A short blank space at ii 12 may be intended as punctuation, and there may be another such at ii 28 (see n.). There is one probable instance of the paragraphus, apparently misplaced (ii 96 n.). A single possible case of *ἐθέλει* (ii 13) may not be significant. Iota adscript is present wherever required. There is a possible example of εἰ for long ε at i 25.

The text is a learned commentary, with references to scholars including Se-leucus Homericus, one Dionysius, Aristophanes of Byzantium, Callistratus, and Aristarchus (i 7, ii 11, 25, 27–8, 29–30; cf. ii 4). Quotations from the comic poet Aristomenes' *Dionysus in Training* and from Aeschylus' *Danaids*, introduced by the titles in the genitive case, are used to illustrate grammatical points (ii 32–6, 39–40). The work under discussion is a comedy: cf. ii 17–19 *καμῶνιδεῖ δ' ἀπτο* [. . . . .] *εἰς μάλα[κίαν]*. It mentioned the Athenian general Nicias (i 4–6), and appears to have made use of a Euripidean phrase (i 30, ii 7–8). The characters included a female inkeeper (i 15, 24) and a goatherd (i 17, 31–2, ii 11). The apparent prominence of the latter suggests an identification of the play as Eupolis' *Goats*, in one fragment of which (9) a female inkeeper is mentioned. The statement in a lemma that 'Nicias is of the Aegeis' (i 4) could then be explained as a pun. Apart from this lemma and the Euripidean phrase mentioned above, there is little that can be ascribed with certainty to the poetic text rather than to the commentary on it: i 14 seems to be quoted, but it is not clear how far the quotation extends. To judge by the leisurely pace of the commentary at the foot of col. ii, we should not expect lemmas to form a large proportion of the text. For a recent discussion of the play,

see I. C. Storey, *Eupolis: Poet of Old Comedy* (2003) 67-74; also his *Fragments of Old Comedy* ii (2011, 54-63.

Commentaries on plays of Eupolis are preserved in XXXV 2741 (*Maricas*), XXXVII 2813 (*Prospaltio*), and XXXV 2740 (*Taxiarchoi*?), frs. 192, 259, and 268 in *PCG*.

A preliminary edition of this papyrus was prepared by Dr Trojahn, who received advice from Prof. W. Luppe; a brief description appeared in her monograph *Die auf Papyri erhaltenen Kommentare zur Alten Komödie* (2002) 205. Dr Rea made further contributions. The edition presented here is the work of Dr Henry. Fragments of comedy and tragedy are cited according to the numerations of *PCG* (followed by Storey) and *TGF*.

	1. [ 1. [	1. [ ] [
	]προ, τροναλα	.....] πρὸς τὸ ἀναλα-
	]του βουλομενους	βειν] ταῖς βουλομενους.
	] , ασταγιηδόςεστιν	Νικίας τ' Αἰγῆδός ἐστιν
5	]εγαυρηθῆ	τῆ]ς γὰρ Αἰγῆθῶς .....
	]μικασονικ. [ . . ] [	.....] Νικίας ὁ Νικη[αδ]τ[ου].
	]ελευκοδ . πο. [ . ] [	ὁ δὲ Σέλευκος διαπορ[ε]ξ
	]τοιουμ εχος [	.....] τοι σύμμαχος [
	]ωρ[ . . ] εξαμενος.	.....] ωρ[ . . ] εξαμενος.
10	]α . . . [ . ] . . . [	.....] α . . . [ . ] . . . [
	] . . φ . . . [ . ] [ . ] [	.....] φ . . . [ . ] [ . ] [
	] , εμο . . . ρ . . . η	.....] εμο . . . ρ . . . η
	] λεγαιεαγοραν	.....] λεγαι εἰς ἀγοραν
	]θευρεϊώνπρος	.....] θεῦρ' εἰςὼν προς
15	]νδοκευτριαν	.....] πα]νδοκεύτριαν
	]ηεντυχία:εν	.....] η συντυχία: εν
	]οιμνησπολοι	.....] ποιμὴν αἰπόλωι
	] , ωμμεϊται	.....] , ωμ μεϊται
	] , κουσεψων	.....] , κουσε ψων
20	] , αρτωστατ . .	.....] , αρτωστατς .
	] . [ . ] κ . . . ενςε	.....] . [ . ] κ . . . ενςε
	] . . . γ . . . εταοσιο	.....] . . . αἰμῆτταται οτι ο
	] . . . Η . [ . ] : κτα, τη:	.....] . . . Η[ε]μ[ε]κται τῆι
	]ρδοκευτριαικαλει	πα]νδοκευτριαι: καλει
25	] , κεινησαι	.....] , κεινησαι
	]δ . . . ρδετου	.....] δ . . . ρδετρου
	] , τ[ . ] . . διατο	.....] , τ[ . ] . . διατο
	] , α , ενταιεργωι	.....] , α , εν τῶι ἐργωι
	] . . . τειχυτρας	.....] . . . τει χύτρας
30	] , ει , ιςτυχαις	.....] ἀνα]ρξίους τύχαις
	] , προστραπτο	.....] , πρὸς τὸν αἰπό-
	] , ανατρεα	λων . . . ] , ων Ατρεα
	]ηραυτου	.....] ην αυτου

Col. ii

], υε[  
 ], υε[  
 προσουδεν[  
 δετσαρισ[  
 5 παρ[  
 τειδομων[  
 αναρισουεν[  
 πιθε[...], υεστ[...]  
 .πε, .νη, .ε, .[...]  
 10 .υ, εστιν, [ ...  
 αιπολουμεζβη[  
 σιας τηναρχε[  
 λακτρουκο[  
 τραπταιουδε[  
 15 ποσταχαδ' [...], [ ...  
 ]τιν[...], πα[...]  
 ], ολελεμμ[...]  
 ], ουιδειο ο [ ...  
 ], [ ...] εις μαλοκ[...]  
 20 ], [ ...] τηνη[...]  
 ], [ ...] [ ...]  
 ], [ ...] τε[...]  
 κτα, .η, [ ...], υ[ ...]  
 καιατρα, [ ...]  
 25 τοισαριστοφαν[ ...]  
 λεγουσαιαρπε[ ...]  
 ενδεοικακαλλ[...], [ ...]  
 τε[...], [ ...] τατηγην, υ[ ...]  
 .νευδεοισαρι  
 30 σταρχεοικαντιο,  
 π[...], [ ...] αυτουσεστι, ου  
 χυπεραλλ', αρ[...], [ ...]  
 νομειδονικουασκη  
 τουτουτινογκωμι  
 35 ουω[...], [ ...] αυτου  
 δουλ[...], [ ...] αυτων

], [ ...]  
 ], υε[...], υε[...]  
 προς ουδεν[...]  
 δε τοις Αριστ[...]  
 5 παρ[...]  
 τει δομων [...]  
 αναρειος τυχ[αις Εβρι-  
 πιθε[ι]δον εστι[...]  
 .πε, .νη, .ε, [...]  
 10 .υ εστιν υ[...]  
 αιπολου υς φη[ει Διονυ-  
 σιος την Αρχε[...]  
 λακτρον ουκο[...]  
 τραπται ουδε[...]  
 15 ποσ τάχα δ' [...], [ ...]  
 ]τι υ [...], πα[...]  
 ], πολελεμμ[...], κω-  
 μιουιδει δ' αυτο [...]  
 ], [ ...] εις μαλοκ[...]  
 20 ], [ ...] τηνη[...]  
 ], [ ...] [ ...]  
 ], [ ...] τε[...]  
 κτα, .η, [ ...], υ[...]  
 καιατρα, [...]  
 25 τοις Αριστοφαν[...]  
 λεγουσαι γαρ περ[ι] [ ...]  
 εν δε τοις Καλλ[ιστ]ρα[...]  
 .υ, [ ...]  
 τε[ο]ις [...], εστιν την κυ-  
 ρημων, εν δε τοις Αρι-  
 30 σταρχεοικαντιο, αντι του  
 περ[ι] αυτου, ο εστιν ου-  
 χυπερ αλλου, Αριστ[ο]μ[...]  
 ε-  
 νουκ Διονουσκου  
 τουτουτινογκωμι-  
 35 ον, ω [C]αυτου[...], περι κω-  
 δουλ[ο]υ η περ[ι] αυτων.

οστειωαν, υχρωαν  
 τα[...], [ ...] ντι, [ ...] αυτου  
 αιχλυουδ[...], [ ...] αυδων  
 40 ετυγηδετουρο[...], [ ...]  
 40 ετυγη δε τουρο[...], [ ...]

Col. iii

φ[

Col. i

1 ], [ (first), the tip of a stroke descending below the line ], [ (second), a low speck 2 ] στ,  
 the second upright with a suggestion of the cross-bar extending to the right , a heavy trace on the  
 line τ, a shank 3 , a speck on the line 4 ], an upright 5, lower parts ε (first),  
 upper part ε, tips of cap and cross-bar ε (second), upper part τ, both ends of cross-bar 5,  
 top υ, upper left-hand corner 6 ], upright ], end of shank descending below the line  
 7 , upright; low specks ], end of shank descending below the line ], upright 8 ,  
 a trace at mid-line level suiting the bridge of κ ], a faint trace at letter-top level on scoured surface  
 9 ρ, the middle part of the upright and the upper right-hand corner of the loop ], an abraded  
 trace at letter-top level, perhaps λ, α, or α, , specks on abraded surface; the number of letters  
 represented is uncertain 10 , [ an upright; a low speck; an oblique descending from left to  
 right; specks on abraded surface at the end of the line, the base of c or ε; specks at mid-line level;]  
 a speck on the line; above the tops of the letters, a steeply descending stroke with a further speck to  
 the right; on the line, an upright and the left-hand edge of the lower part of another upright, abraded  
 on the right 11 ], , a trace at letter-top level; the base and top of ε, e, or e ], a trace on  
 the line; the upper left-hand arc of a circle; scattered abraded traces; an upright ], [ ], abraded  
 traces 12 ], , a shank descending below the line, abraded at the top and with a further trace to  
 the left at letter-top level , two uprights; scattered traces , abraded traces, the second  
 set suiting the left-hand tip and foot of γ 13 ], scattered traces including a suggestion of an  
 ascending oblique in the upper half of the line: perhaps γ 14 ], ρ, the lower right-hand corner  
 16 ε due to the second hand: the first hand wrote Αι, which the second hand made into Η, adding  
 a high stop and cursive ε in the narrow space preceding 17 ], ε, the right-hand edge of an upright  
 18 ], a descending oblique 19 ], the end of a cross-bar at letter-top level 20 ], a speck  
 at mid-line level followed by a low speck and the top of an upright: η possible , a trace suggest-  
 ing the lower part of ε or c, followed by specks and an upright on abraded surface 21 ], [ ],  
 abraded traces , abraded traces, the first suggesting an upright, the last the right-hand side  
 of κ or x 22 ], , specks , an abraded upright; the left-hand end of a cross-bar just  
 below letter-top level followed by a trace of an upright at mid-line level; a trace on the line followed  
 by a speck at letter-top level 23 ], , a high abraded trace; the upper right-hand arc of a circle;  
 an upright with traces suggesting the upper left-hand arc of a circle extending from its top, followed  
 by a trace on the line suggesting the base of a circle on a displaced piece of papyrus ], abraded  
 traces, perhaps the cap, cross-bar, and turn-up of ε ], abraded traces at letter-top and mid-line  
 levels , abraded traces, perhaps an upright 25 ], , a low flat trace on abraded surface;  
 perhaps the cap of c or e 26 , , a trace in the lower half of the line suggesting an upright;  
 the upper edge of a cross-bar at mid-line level; specks 27 ], high and low specks ], a high  
 trace; a low trace followed by a short cross-bar at mid-line level 28 ], , a short low upright,  
 a high trace followed by a low trace suggesting an upright , an upright, i or ? 29 ], ,

a high speck, the base and part of the left-hand side of  $\epsilon$  or  $c$ ; a trace on the line; the tail and specks belonging to the left-hand side of  $\lambda$  or  $\alpha$  30 ], abraded traces at letter-top level, perhaps the loop of  $\tau$  , scattered specks 31 ], a trace suggesting the base of  $c$  or  $e$  32 ], perhaps the lower part of the stem and the top of the loop of  $\tau$

## Col. ii

1 ] [, a low trace 2 ] [, the turn-up of  $c$  or  $e$ ; the lower part of an upright 7 ] [, a speck on the line 8 ] [, a narrow gap followed by the base of a circle 9 ] [, a low trace 9 ] [, abraded traces 10 ] [, a tail turning to the left at the foot, with a further trace just above letter-top level, a trace on the line; an upright 10 ] [, the lower parts of two uprights; an upright 11 ] [, an upright; the lower part of an upright 10 ] [, in damaged context, a trace now suggesting the top of a descending oblique; high traces 11 ] [, a high cross-bar;  $\tau$  acceptable 12 ] [, the left-hand arc of a circle attached to the cross-bar of the preceding  $\tau$  11 5], the top of the first upright and traces of the cross-bar 14 7, rubbed traces at letter-top level:  $\tau$  rather than  $r$  15 ] [, a low trace 15 ] [, a low stroke descending from left to right 16 ] [, the top of an upright 16 ] [, traces at mid-line level; the lower parts of two uprights; a low dot; the turn-up of  $e$  or  $c$  17 ] [, the foot of an upright 18 ] [, a trace below the line 18 ] [, specks 20 ] [, traces at letter-top level; perhaps the top of an upright followed by a gently descending low stroke with a trace at letter-top level above its right-hand end; perhaps  $k$ ; perhaps  $o$ ; two uprights, the second perhaps joined from the left low in the line 21 ] [, possibly a blank space, but ink may have been lost to abrasion 22 ] [, the junction of the first upright and oblique and two further traces to the right; apparently  $\kappa$  rather than  $\mu$  21 ] [, traces on a narrow strip of cross-fibres 22 ] [, a stroke ascending from left to right; perhaps the turn-up of  $e$  or  $c$ ; high and mid-level traces; a low trace 23 ] [, a dot on the line close to the tail of  $\lambda$ ; two low specks 24 ] [, perhaps the lower left-hand part of  $c$  ] [, specks 24 ] [, the lower part of a short upright; a high speck on the edge of the upper layer 27 ] [, a trace on the line 27 ] [, a tall upright 28 ] [, the top of  $e$  or  $c$ ; a high speck on the edge; perhaps the top of  $o$  or  $c$ ; the base of  $e$  or  $c$ ; again the base of  $e$  or  $c$ , with a higher trace belonging to its left-hand side 28 ] [, the upper parts 29 ] [, the top of an upright followed by the edge of the top of an upright; perhaps a narrow  $\mu$  29 ] [, above the line, rubbed traces, the third perhaps  $e$  or  $c$  29 7, the left-hand end of the cross-bar and the foot 29 ] [, the edge of the lower right-hand arc of a circle; traces suggesting both feet and the upper left-hand corner of  $\mu$ , of which the last (together with the preceding trace) is on a piece displaced to the right; perhaps the lower left-hand corner and the edge of the right-hand side of  $\omega$  30 ] [, specks 31 ] [, part of an upright 31 ] [, a flat trace on the line close to  $\omega$  32 5], the upper left-hand corner 32 ] [, the upper right-hand corner 32 ] [, specks; above letter-top level, perhaps the upper left-hand corner of  $\gamma$  32 ] [, the lower part of an upright 33 ] [, the final  $\nu$  is written on  $\tau$  35 ] [, just above  $\delta$ , of which the middle part is abraded, a short cross-stroke extending to the right-hand side of the letter 40 ] [, traces suggesting the lower right-hand arc of a circle 41 ] [, the upper left-hand arc and part of the top: not  $\omega$  ] [, a high trace on the edge

'... with reference to (?) (the phrase?) ("that" those who take up?)'. (?)

<sup>14</sup>And Nicias is of the Aegaeis'. For Nicias son of Nicranas (belonged to the tribe) Aegaeis. Seleucus raises a problem... ally... [3]... to the market-place... coming in here towards... female innkeeper... incident... shepherd... goatherd... represents... boiling... lately... hints that... has had intercourse with the female innkeeper; he calls (?)... "disturb" (?)... because of... in the deed... pot(s)... untoward fortunes... to the goatherd... "Atrous... his own (?)... [ii] to nothing (?)... (in) Arist... home... untoward fortunes" is Euripidean... that is (?)... (of the?) goatherd, as Dionysius says... Arche—s (?)... not (?)... has been turned (?)... not (?)

... and quickly (or: perhaps) ... left behind (?); and (he) ridicules him (or: them) ... for softness ... [25] (in) Aristophanes' (writings): for they say "about..."; in Callistratus': ... is "that of short..."; in Aristarchus': in place of "about (him)self", i.e. "not for another". Aristomenes' *Diognis* or *Training*: "this encomium, O Satyrs, (is) about the knuckle or about (ourselves)". Because they use "himself" in place of "yourself". Aeschylus' *Damais*: "you are detested... such...".

## Col. i

2-3 Even if correctly restored, the lines are multiply ambiguous. If a quotation, *δολα/βείη* τοῖς βουλομένοις may belong to a passage in iambic trimeters or trochaic tetrameters catalectic.

4 *Νικίας* τ' *Αιγυθός* ἐστίν. The first two metra of a trochaic tetrameter catalectic. Nicias is fairly frequently mentioned in comedy: Eupolis fr. 193, Ar. *Eg.* 358 (in which play his name is also given to the second slave), *As.* 969, 639, fr. 102, Phrynicus fr. 62, Teleclides fr. 44. In view of the prominence of a goatherd in what follows, there is no doubt a pun here on *αἰξ*.

5-6 Perhaps τῆς γὰρ Αἰγυθῶ[ος φύλης | ᾤ].

13 βαίματα, φημίται (cf. 4-6)

14-15 θεῖρ' εἰσών' πρὸς τῆν παῖδοκέτρων; Or perhaps θεῖρ' εἰσών' πρὸς εἰθε παῖδοκέτρων, an iambic trimeter. Eupolis fr. 9 (from the *Goats*) mentions a *παῖδοκέτρια*; see on it 12 below

19 ἄρων: cf. 99 χῆρας. ἄητορ appears twice in Eupolis' *Goats* (frs. 5, 16).

20 ἀρῖαι or ἀρῖι seems likely.

22 Presumably said with reference to a passage in the text under discussion.

23 αἰσῶ[ρος] does not seem excluded.

24-5 Perhaps καλεῖ (or καλεῖται) ... κηρύσαι, if *ἡβ[ρί]στα* (23) is using of sexual intercourse.

27-8 Perhaps διὰ τῷ followed by a weak aorist infinitive active ending in -σσι.

30 ἀνα[εῖσι]ος τύχαι restored from ii 7.

32 Atrous may have been named in the original context of the Euripidean phrase ἀναεῖσιος τύχαι (ii 7-8).

## Col. ii

3-4 Perhaps ἐν] δὲ τοῖς ἡρικ[ταρχαῖ]ος: cf. 29-30. *ἡρικ[ταρχαῖ]ος* would be slightly too long; cf. 25, where τοῖς ἡρικ[ταρχαῖ]ος is a complete line. But these are not the only possibilities.

6 δῶμον will belong to a poetic quotation, whether from the text under discussion or a parallel passage.

7-8 ἀναεῖσιος τύχαι *Εὐρά* πιδε[ί]θη ἐρεῖ; ἀναεῖσιος is found infrequently in tragedy (Aesch. *Ag.* 511, Soph. *Trach.* 640, 853), but does not seem to be attested elsewhere for Euripides. He has a similar expression at *Hec.* 1142-3 ἀνὰ λόγους (ἀμφι- Dobree) σπιδαντ' ἀναεῖσιος τύχαι. Eupolis uses Euripidean language most clearly in fr. 99 at 102 (= Eur. fr. 507) and 35 (cf. Eur. fr. 558).

10 ἡνείκενον seems acceptable.

11-12 ἀναεῖσιος: note references to scholars of this name in the middle to Aristophanes at *As.* 1397-9 (*d.* ... 4 Ζώνηρος) and *Plut.* 322. There is a short blank space after this word, perhaps meant as punctuation.

12 ἡρικ[. The only *καυμοδόμενος* known from Eupolis whose names begin thus are Archedemus (fr. 80) and Archestratus (fr. 298). ἡρικ[ε]ράτος would extend to the margin and leave no room for the beginning of the word that ends *λαερν* in the next line. If ἡρικ[ε]ράτος is accepted, there will be room for one or perhaps two more letters, and *φαιλαερν* may be a possibility, though its reference will be unclear. If neither of these names is correct, *παλλ*αεῖσιος may also be considered, *μειλαερν* may be a further possibility (cf. 19), but an adjective would not be easy to accommodate here.

It has been argued that Eupolis fr. 9 ἡνείκενον γὰρ ὄλλεμον ἔχει (from the *Goats*), is a second reference to this poet to Archedemus, to whom the same adjective is applied by Aristophanes

at *Ran.* 588: see Storey, *Expolis* 73–4 (doubting the connection). If this identification is correct, the references to a *παροδοκίτερα* in the previous column (15, 24) may be relevant.

13–14 (-ε)γραμμα rather than (-)εγραμμα since the combination *ετ* is not divided at line-end at 29–30.

17 ἀπο-, ὀπο-. The participle in whatever case may refer to the same person or persons as ἀπο, [in the next line.

17–19 κομμάθει δ' αὐτο [ . . . . . ] εἰς μάλα[ε]ται. Cf for the construction e.g. sch. in *Ar. Pac.* 803 δ δὲ Μελάνθιος κομμαθεῖται εἰς μαλακίαν καὶ ἄφοργίαν. καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς Κίλαξιν Ἐπισκόπ (fr. 17) δὲ κίναυον αὐτὸν διαβέλει καὶ κόλασα.

18 αὐτόν [ perhaps referring to Arche—(12)], οὐ αὐτό[ε].

18–19 Ε[πὶ]τολε[ε]?

23 -καὶ τῆ[ε]?

24 The division at the start is uncertain. At the end, ἐν or ἐν δὲ.

24 ff. The explanation found in Aristophanes of Byzantium is followed by those of his pupils Callistratus and Aristarchus.

26 Πήραρα περὶ αὐτοῦ: cf. 31.

28–9 τῆν κυρήμων: *ω* is not certain, but *ο* was not written. The phrase may be an explanation of a feminine accusative singular that stood in the poetic text (added above the line for clarification?). Before, δ ἔστω may be possible (cf. 31) but fails to account for the preceding trace. Perhaps that trace is associated with the supralinear addition rather than the main text, and the scribe left a short gap: cf. 12 above.

34–6 ταυτὶ ταυρήμιον, ἀ [C]άτυρο[ι], περὶ κοιδά[σ]η ἢ περ[ε] αὐτῶν. An anapaestic tetrameter catalectic. Little is known of this play, to which Aristomenes fr. 11–15 belong. To judge from the line quoted, the chorus will have been Satyrs, as in Cratinus' *Diogenesalexander* and plays entitled *Satyr* by Epichantides, Callias, Cratinus, and Phrynichus. A chorus of Satyrs boasts of its prowess in boxing at *Soph. fr.* <sup>1</sup>130.11 (VIII 1083 fr. 1.11).

36 If the sign over the initial letter is a paragraphus, as seems likely, it is out of place. Perhaps it should have been placed under the line, to mark the end of the quotation.

37–8 Cf. *Antiatt. ABI* 77:7 αὐτοῖ: ἀντὶ τοῦ σωτοῦ. For examples of this usage, familiar from Aeschylus and other authors, see e.g. LSJ s.v. *αὐτοῦ* ii.

40 *ετυγή* δὲ *τοιμοτε*[ε] . . . : at the end, -[ε]ι[ε] seems possible. -*ο* is perhaps not excluded, but would be rather generously spaced: contrast the end of 38.

Presumably these words began an iambic trimeter and the whole line was quoted. It is not otherwise known. As it is given as an example of αὐτοῦ used in place of σωτοῦ, the subject will be second person singular, and *ετυγή* will be indicative passive rather than subjunctive active.

W. B. HENRY / S. TROJAHN

### 5161–3. GRAECO-LATIN GLOSSARIES

We present here parts of three glossaries on papyrus. Each is of a type familiar from the *Hermeneumata Pseudo-Doisitheana*: **5161** is an alphabetical glossary of conjugated verbs, while **5162** and **5163** are lists of nouns arranged under subject headings. Published bilingual glossaries from papyrus have been collected in C. Gloss. Biling. The various versions of the *Hermeneumata* are cited as A (*Ampeliana*), M<sub>p</sub> (*Montepessulana*), B (*Bruxellensia*), S (*Stephanus*), L (*Leidensia*), M (*Monacensia*), E (*Einsidensia*), Vat (*Vaticana*), and C (*Celtis*). Most of the relevant

material is included in CGL III and cited by Goetz's page and line, but for L we have used the continuous numeration of G. Flammini, *Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana Leidensia* (2004), and for Vat that of G. Brugnoli and M. Buonocore, *Hermeneumata Vaticana* (2002). The thematic glossary of C (Vindob. suppl. gr. 43) is published in photographic form at <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00147700>, and an edition is being prepared by Professor Rolando Ferri, who has kindly made his draft available to us; see in general Ferri, 'Hermeneumata Celtis: The Making of a Late-Antique Bilingual Glossary', in id. (ed.), *The Latin of Roman Lexicography* (2011) 141–69. In citations from this glossary, Roman numerals refer to sections and Arabic numerals to items within a section. For the table of contents, see A. C. Dionisotti, *JRS* 72 (1982) 92–3; sections 1–5, which are of particular relevance to **5162**, have been edited by J. Kramer as P. Paramone 5. The alphabetical glossary of B, not included in CGL, was edited from Brux. 1828–30 (*Br*) by J. Gessler, *RBP* 16 (1937) 169–78, and from Angers 477 (*A*) by H. Omont, *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 59 (1898) 676 (penult. gloss)–9; another manuscript, Heidelberg, Salem IX.39 (*H*), is published in photographic form at <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/salIX39>. There is no standard numeration, but entries are easily located in the alphabetical sequence. A fuller version of B forms the basis of the alphabetical glossary in *Leid.* Voss. Lat. F 26 (Vo), printed in CGL III 398–421, which preserves, for items beginning with each letter of the Latin alphabet, the original order of the entries in B; the end of this glossary, missing from the *Leiden* manuscript, can be restored from the fragment in Angers 477 (*A*, published by Omont, as above, 671–6). For general accounts of the *Hermeneumata*, cf. A. C. Dionisotti, 'From Ausonius' Schooldays?', *JRS* 72 (1982) 83–125; ead., 'Greek Grammars and Dictionaries in Carolingian Europe', in M. W. Herren and S. A. Brown (edd.), *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks* (1988) 1–56, esp. 26–31, including a table setting out the contents of each of the versions (26–8). A stemma of B is given by Dionisotti, 'From Stephanus to Du Cange: Glossary Stories', *RHT* 14–15 (1984–5) 303–36 (312).

### 5161. GRAECO-LATIN ALPHABETICAL GLOSSARY OF CONJUGATED VERBS

7 (B<sub>5</sub>/F**b**)

11.7 × 20 cm

Third/fourth century

Plate VI

Written across the fibres, a fragment of a Greek–Latin alphabetical list of verbs conjugated in the present indicative active, in the first, second, and third persons singular. The upper margin and upper parts of four columns are preserved, containing Greek verbs starting with *π*, *ε*, *τ*, *υ*, and *φ*, alongside their Latin equivalents. The other side was used for a private letter in Greek, **5182**, of which the address is written downwards along the fibres between cols. i and ii of the glossary.

The Greek is written in an informal, medium-sized round hand, with some ligatures. Bilinearity is respected only to a limited extent, being violated especially

by  $\phi$ ,  $\rho$ ,  $\tau$  (often in ligature with  $\epsilon$ ), and the enlarged form of  $\gamma$  that may be used in initial position (iii 14–21), and sometimes by the long tail of  $\lambda$  (e.g. at iii 1–3). The uprights of  $\pi$ ,  $\tau$ ,  $\iota$ , and  $\eta$  tend to have curves on the base line. The mid-stroke of  $\epsilon$  usually protrudes and connects with the following letter.  $\epsilon$  is sometimes written in one movement (e.g. at i 23). The cap of  $c$  is regularly flat and in final position extends well into the narrow intercolumnium.  $\gamma$  is often looped at the base (e.g. i 22, iii 4).  $\eta$  tends to have a high cross-bar.  $\eta$  usually has its oblique and second upright made separately but also appears in a cursive form, looped at the upper right (both forms occur side by side at i 25).  $\theta$  narrows to a point at the bottom, and its cross-bar protrudes from its body to connect with the following letter. There is a correction, executed by the scribe himself, at iii 21. The only diacritic mark in the Greek part of the glossary is the diaeresis inconsistently applied to initial  $\upsilon$  (iii 4, etc.). Long paragraphs separate the five alphabetical sections. Iota adscript is not written. The script resembles that of the glossary's closest parallel, P. Strasb. inv. g 1175 (C. Gloss. Biling. II 3; m/iv), which may suggest a dating in the third or fourth century.

The quality of the Latin script indicates that the scribe was a Greek speaker. There are two cases of character switching (on which see J. N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (2003) 46): the scribe wrote  $\eta\gamma$  for  $\epsilon\gamma$  at i 25 (though he corrected the  $\gamma$  to  $\xi$ ), and  $\eta$  for  $\epsilon$  again at iv 6. Other corrections are found at ii 5 and iv 8–9. The influence of the Greek script also appears in the formation and ductus of several Latin letters (e.g.  $x$ ,  $t$ ,  $a$ ,  $e$ ): on this phenomenon, see e.g. M. Norsa, 'Analogie e coincidenza tra scrittura greca e latina nei papiri,' in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* vi (1946) 105–21; B. Rochette, *Le Latin dans le monde grecque* (1997) 204–6; id., 'Écrire en deux langues: Remarques sur le mixage des écritures grecque et latine d'après les papyrus littéraires bilingues d'auteurs classiques,' *Scriptorium* 53 (1999) 325–34. There appear to be fewer ligatures in the Latin than in the Greek, which again suggests that the scribe was more experienced in Greek. The scribe tends to lengthen considerably the oblique of  $s$  and the cross-bar of  $r$  in inflectional endings, while  $l$  and  $r$  descend well under the base line.

Only the sections containing verbs starting with  $c$  and  $v$  are preserved complete. Each of these consists of six verbs and occupies eighteen lines. Assuming that the alphabetical sections were all of the same length, we may estimate the original number of lines to a column. The  $\nu$  section begins at i 31 and ends at iii 3. Thus col. i will have been 45 lines long. On the basis of the same assumption of six verbs (eighteen lines) per alphabetic section, the list will have contained 144 Greek verbs, i.e. 432 conjugated Greek verb forms with their Latin equivalents (another 432 items). It will have occupied approximately twenty columns.

Dr Henry notes that the use of the vertical fibres for this text, which must have been copied before the letter on the back, suggests that the preserved fragment is from the final leaf of a codex which had horizontal fibres on the outside:

such codices, including the bilingual Virgil glossary P. Ryl. III 478+ (M-P' 2940), are listed by Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* 66–7 (Table 11). If col. i was the first column of the page, the alphabetical sequence may have been completed on the same page at col. vii/viii.3. A pair of columns (Greek + Latin) takes up a space 5.75 cm wide. The width of the written area (8 columns) will then have been about 23 cm. 30 lines of text occupy a space about 18 cm high; a 45-line column will then have been about 27 cm high. The upper margin (preserved to its original height, to judge by the horizontal edge above cols. iii–iv) is 1.4 cm high; with a lower margin a little deeper, the page will have been 30.5–31 cm tall. The codex may then have belonged in Turner's 'nearly square' category (*Typology* 15). About 6½ columns of Greek and the same number of Latin, a total of 12 columns and two more half-filled, would be required for the lost beginning of the glossary, up to the top of col. i of the fragment. The glossary is thus unlikely to have been the only work contained in the codex.

The verbs are not alphabetized beyond the initial letter. The observance of alphabetical order within the  $c$  section may be accidental. The  $\rho$  section is not complete: three conjugated verbs came before  $\rho\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\omega$ , but it seems unlikely that all of them preceded it alphabetically. In this respect, the glossary follows the general tendency observed by M. Naoumides, 'The Fragments of Greek Lexicography in the Papyri', in *Classical Studies Presented to Ben Edwin Perry* (1969) 181–202 at 188: 'it seems that as a rule there was a certain relation between the size of a dictionary and the degree of strictness of its alphabetical arrangement.' Because of the relatively limited number of verbs found under each letter, strict alphabetical arrangement was not necessary; the same applies to the shorter alphabetical glossaries XLIX 3452 (C. Gloss. Biling. II 7) and P. Strasb. inv. g 1175 (C. Gloss. Biling. II 3).

The closest parallel to this text among the papyri is the codex P. Strasb. inv. g 1175 (C. Gloss. Biling. II 3), the remains of a list of conjugated Greek verbs organized alphabetically ( $a$ – $\gamma$ ) together with their Latin equivalents. But in that papyrus the present indicative forms (first, second, and third persons singular) are given in reverse order, beginning with the third person and ending with the first, and the Latin verbs are transcribed in Greek script. Conjugated verbs are found in two further glossaries preserved in papyri. P. Berol. 21246 (C. Gloss. Biling. I 1; i bc), apart from proverbs and sentence models, contains conjugated forms of  $\delta\pi\theta\iota\delta\omega\mu\iota$   $\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\delta\omega$  (5–14),  $\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega$   $\tau\epsilon\mu\omega$  (23–28),  $\epsilon\rho\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$   $\tau\epsilon\mu\iota\omega$  (48–57), and possibly a fourth verb pair (29–35). However, there the verbs are conjugated in different tenses, moods, and voices; the Latin equivalents are transcribed in Greek script. P. Sorb. inv. 2069 (ii; new edition: E. Dickey and R. Ferri, *ZPE* 175 (2010) 177–87), a Latin-Greek alphabetic glossary of homonyms with additional grammatical information, also contains conjugated Latin verbs with their Greek equivalents (3–5, 16, 109–10, 129–34); on the sphere of application and the origin of this papyrus see E. Dickey, *ZPE* 175 (2010) 188–208.

All but one of the word pairs in **5161** are attested in the Hermeneumata. One Greek verb (i 25-7) does not occur with its Latin equivalent as given in the papyrus either in the Hermeneumata or in the glossaries of CGL II. Dr Henry notes that the best parallel for the form and content of the text is the alphabetical glossary of B. There, as here, Greek verbs alphabetized by first letter only are conjugated in the first three persons singular (given in order from first to third), and accompanied by Latin translations. B has fewer verbs for each Greek letter, but where we can check, all of its verbs also come up in the present glossary, and in two cases, it shares with **5161** verbs not found in the other alphabetical glossaries among the Hermeneumata (i-ii 13-15, 28-30; cf. 25-7 n.). If we take into account also the fuller form of B quarried by Vo, it shares nearly all the verbs found in the papyrus (exceptions: i-ii 10-12, 16-18 (but see n.), iii-iv 19-21). M also has many of the same verbs conjugated; like Vo, it generally gives more forms than **5161** and B.

On the basis of the script and high number of divergences from classical Latin, the papyrus seems to be a study aid for a Greek speaker learning Latin, perhaps at school. The material could help with language acquisition in two different respects: it was useful for learning new vocabulary and helped with the practising of the conjugation in the simple present.

cols. i-ii

[	-ω
	-ε]ι[ε
-ε]ι[	-]t
ραπτω	ε[omiso]
ραπτει	ε[omisi]
ρ]απτει	consit
ρ]ενω	sparge[ō]
ρ]ενει[ε]	spargis
ρενει	spargit
10 ριπτω	precisō
ριπτει	precis
ριπτει	precit
ραλενω	probō
ε]αλενει	probis
15 ε]αλενει	probit
ε]ηθω	serpno
ε]ηθει	serpis
ε]ηθει	serpit
ειωπω	taqto
20 ειωπας	taqis

cols. iii-iv

ταρασσω	twbo
ταρασει	twbas
ταρασει	twbat
υ]φενω	texio
υ]φενει	texis
υ]φενει	texit
υ]ποδηνω	calcio
υ]ποδηνει	calcis
υ]ποδηνει	calcit
10 υ]πηρετω	minisit/ro
υ]πηρετει	minisit/ras
υ]πηρετει	minisit[at
υ]παγω	bado
υ]παγει	badis
15 υ]παγει	badet
υ]πολωνω	exculcit[ō]
υ]πολωνει	exculcit[as
υ]πολωνει	exculcit[at
υ]ποφερω	suffert[ō]
20 υ]ποφερει	suffert[is

ειωπα	taqit
ευρω	trago
ευρει	tragis
ευρει	tragit
25 ευνενω	acegno
ευνευει	acegis
ευνευει	acegit
ευνηρω	conserbo
ευνηρει	conserbas
30 ευνηρει	conserbat
ηρω	serbitio
[ηρει	serbis]
[ηρει	serbit]

12 lines lost

υποφει	suffert[ō]
ατω	amo
φιλει	amas
φ]ι[λει]	amat
25 {φουω}	{u]ffito
{φουα}	{ufflas]
{φουα}	{ufflat]

18 lines lost

‘... I sew together, you sew together, he/she sews together; I sprinkle, you sprinkle, he/she sprinkles; I throw, you throw, he/she throws; I move, you move, he/she moves; I sit, you sit, he/she sits; I keep silence, you keep silence, he/she keeps silence; I drag, you drag, he/she drags; I agree, you agree, he/she agrees; I protect, you protect, he/she protects; I watch over, you watch over, he/she watches over; ... I trouble, you trouble, he/she troubles; I weave, you weave, he/she weaves; I put on shoes, you put on shoes, he/she puts on shoes; I do service, you do service, he/she does service; I go, you go, he/she goes; I take off my shoes, you take off your shoes, he/she takes off his/her shoes; I endure, you endure, he/she endures; I love, you love, he/she loves; I blow, you blow, he/she blows; ...’

cols. i-ii

1-3 A verb with initial ρ is to be restored on the Greek side. [Dr Henry suggests ῥήσσω] -[ε]ι[ε] -[ε]ι[α]lido] -[ε]i] -[t], which fits traces and spaces on both sides. This is one of the verbs conjugated in the β section of B (cf. also Vo 999-71), together with μένω, βάλω, and βάπτω. As the verbs found in B all come up in the papyrus wherever it is possible to check, we should expect ῥήσσω and μένω to have two of the remaining three verbs in the β section of the papyrus text, and the latter will not fit here (note ε] -[ε]i]. Cf. for the pair also L 236, A 79.3, Gloss. Steph. CGL III 439.20.]

4-6 The word pair recurs in B (cf. also Vo 402.7-14). The verb consuo also appears as cwo [cf. L 237, Gloss. Steph. 444.75-6, Gloss. Lois. CGL III 475.42, 44] or as consuo (so cod. Br in B; cf. Gloss. Steph. 444.27). In A 78.70 and M 157.25-8 the Greek verb is glossed by forms of sarcio.

4 c[omiso]: the spelling is uncertain: cf. 5-6.

5 c[omisi]: l. consuis. The final s is corrected from o.

6 consit: l. consuit. See C. Battisti, *Avvicinamento allo studio del latino volgare* (1949) 142.

7-9 -ε- is written for -αι-: see Gignac, *Grammar* i 191-2. The pair recurs in B (cf. Vo 417.44-9); cf. also L 235, A 79.9-10 (*remi asparge; nonon asparge*), M 157.14-18, Gloss. Steph. 454.22, Gloss. Bern. CGL III 503.12, CGL II 427.22.

7 sparge[ō]: l. spargo. The incorrect verb form spargo illustrates the hesitation in the conjugation of the verb classes -ere and -ere which was characteristic of Vulgar Latin (cf. V. Väinänen, *Introduction au latin vulgaire* (1981) 136), and of which several examples are present in the papyrus.

10-12 *precisō precis precit*: l. *prociis prociis precit*. -oi- here was pronounced as a diphthong. Monophthongization produced a closed e: see Väinänen, *Introduction* 38. B and Vo do not have this pair, but

cf. L 233, A 79.8, M 157.20–24, Gloss. Steph. 461.21, CGL II 428.23 Παινο επιαικονου ιασιου ιαλαιου φησιν.

13–15 *mōsēs mōsēs mōsēs*: 1. *mōsēs moyses moyses*. For the spelling with *-s-*, see TLL VIII 1538.21–4; Väinänen, *Introduction* 50; J. G. F. Powell in R. Ferri (ed.), *The Latin of Roman Lexicography* (2011) 113–14. For *-is -it* in this verb, cf. TLL VIII 1538.36–8; 7 n. The word pair is found in B (cf. Vo 411.28–31), and in Gloss. Steph. 456.74, CGL II 131.2 *Mōsēs moyses, calceus, 429.38 Calceus moyses communis apē*.

16–18 For the word pair, cf. L 244 εἶρον εἶρα, A 79.23, M 158.12–15, Gloss. Steph. 441.56 εἶρα, εἶρον, Gloss. Lois. 475.16 εἶρα εἶρον, CGL II 99.51 *Ἐρμῆς ἔρασι, εἶρα*. This Greek verb is not found in B, and in Vo its place in the c section is taken by the synonymous *εὐαῖος*, with the same Latin gloss (402.15–18).

16 *spēnis*: 1. *serna*. The verb form *sernis* seems to follow the analogy of the type *capio*: cf. iv 4. 19–21 *facis facis facis*: 1. *facis facis facis*. Because of the phonetic alternation of *-o* and *-io* (Väinänen, *Introduction* 45), some verbs with the infinitive *-ire* tended to be conjugated as *-ire* verbs in Vulgar Latin; see Väinänen, *Introduction* 135. The word pair is found in B (cf. Vo 419.37–42); cf. L 243 *ciōsa facit*, A 79.20, M 158.4–11, Mp 239.74–6, Gloss. Steph. 445.2 *facio, ciōsa, ciōsa, ciōsa*, Gloss. Bern. 503.56, CGL II 432.25 *Ciōsa facio obliquo silo anticipo*.

22–4. *trago tragi tragit*: 1. *traho trahis trahit*. The form *trago* for *traho* is found in a ninth-century manuscript of the pseudo-Eusebian collection of Gallican sermons (A. Souter, *JTS* 41 (1940) 48). It was not pronounced in this invocative position (see Väinänen, *Introduction* 55), and *g* was not pronounced between such back vowels as *a* or *o* (cf. e.g. CIL II 5728 *Austo = Augusto*) or even between palatal vowels in some instances (cf. e.g. CIL III 14730 *maester = magister*); see Väinänen, *Introduction* 58. This may explain the use of *g* instead of *h* in this position. The change may also be motivated by the fact that *y* before a front vowel was regularly pronounced as fricative [j], which was in some cases omitted in writing or conversely inserted; see Gignac 1 71–2. Thus a scribe more familiar with Greek than Latin could easily use the grapheme *g* in this verb paradigm, especially in the forms *trahis, trahit*, and then analogically in *traho* as well. The word pair is not found in B but is present in Vo 419.43–54; cf. L 248 *ciōron trahit*, Gloss. Steph. 465.51 *trahit, ciōron*, CGL II 200.9 *Trahit ciōre, 449.2 Ciōron trahit*.

25–7 *conuenio* is not found in the Hermeneumata nor in the glossaries of CGL II. The Latin equivalent is also problematic. On the basis of Vulgar Latin phonology, one may consider *accedo*, *attingo*, and *accingo* as possible candidates. *Accedo* could be paired with *conuenio* as both mean, among other things, 'agree' (LSJ s.v. II.3; OLD s.v. 8). There are sporadic examples of the interchange of *d* and *g* before the front vowel *i* in Vulgar Latin, e.g. *fustigium* for *fustidium*, *corriūna* for *corrigion*, *Remidium* for *Remigium*; cf. Battisti, *Avvicamento* 147. It is also possible that *-go -gi -gi* due to the influence of 22–4. [Dr Henry compares for the confusion the spellings of *allido -is -it* glossing *phēcū -ei -ic* in B (cf. 1–3 n. for the suggestion that this verb was present in those lines of the papyrus): *H* has *d* throughout, but *Br* gives *alligo alligō allidit, et d. alligo allidit allidit*. He notes that the interpretation of the Latin in the papyrus as representing *accedo -is -it* is supported by B, where in manuscripts A and *Br*, the c section curiously includes *παρειάξω -ει -ει* (with Greek transliterated and misspelled) glossed as *accedo -is -it*. (In manuscript *H*, the verb has been moved to the end of the *o* section, but this is certainly a later development; for re-alphabetization in *H*, see A. C. Dionisotti, *RHT* 14–15 (1984–5) 312.) This is one of only five items in the B verb-list not taken over into Vo (noted by Dionisotti 306 n. 6). The papyrus suggests an explanation. Perhaps the Greek, as given in the papyrus, had dropped out at an early stage through damage to a common archetype and was missing from the fuller form of B used for Vo. The verb was useless without a Greek equivalent and so was omitted from Vo. At a later stage, the gap was conjecturally filled by forms of *παρειάξω* (A *Br*), shown by the 'wrong' initial letter to be no more than a guess. Finally, these were moved to the 'correct' place in the alphabetical sequence (*H*). Gloss. Steph. 438.5 is the only other example of the pair *accedo, παρειάξω* indexed at CGL VI 12; Stephanus's source for the entry is likely to have been his manuscript of B (cf. Dionisotti 313–17 with stemmata at 317)].

25 *accingo*: the scribe originally wrote *γγ*. He corrected the *γ* to Latin *g*, but left the *η* unchanged: cf. iv 6.

28–30 For *-b-* replacing *-p-*, cf. 13–15 n. The word pair is found in B (cf. Vo 402.19–24); cf. also Gloss. Steph. 443.44, CGL II 112.19 *Conservat conpripes, coleses, dienerpes, 448.21*.

31 *serbis*: 1. *seruo*. For *-b-* replacing *-p-*, cf. 13–15 n. *seruo* has been conflated with *serbis*. Its compound in *seru-* has the correct terminations at *serb-30*, but in that case there is no corresponding compound of *serbis* to generate confusion. The word pair is not found in B but is present in Vo 417.50–58; cf. L 293 *serpi serant*, A 79.47, M 159.58–65, Gloss. Steph. 463.52 *serant, rhpē*, CGL II 455.16. 32–3 Restored on the basis of 31.

#### cols. iii–iv

1–3 The word pair is found in B (cf. also Vo 419.69–5), where forms of *turbulento* have taken the place of those of *turbo*; cf. M 160.8–11, Gloss. Steph. 465.69, Gloss. Bern. 504.11, CGL II 451.48.

4–6 *-e-* is written for *-a-*: cf. also M 161.7–9 n. The word pair is found in B (cf. Vo 419.67–73); cf. also L 279 *phalonus tenet*, A 80.6, M 161.27–9, E 270.22, Gloss. Steph. 465.34, Gloss. Bern. 505.36, CGL II 198.11 *Tenit phalones, 468.57*.

4 *tenio*: 1. *teno*. Cf. i–ii 16 n.

6 *tenit*: 1. *tenit*. Cf. i–ii 25 n.

7–9 *-η-* is written for *-ε-*: cf. Gignac 1 246. *θηρόθενος* is a late Greek form of *θηρόδεω*; see LSJ s.v. *θηρόδεω*. The pair is not in B, but is in Vo 402.39–50; cf. L 281 *θηρόδεον calcia*, M 161.12–16, CGL II 465.51 *Υποδομας calcia, 466.5 Υποδοκον calcia*, Dosithe. *Ant. gramm.* 77.3 Tolkiehn.

8–9 The *-io* ending was at first associated with the paradigm *-is, -it* (though a correction has been carried out). The verb class in *-ire* was the most resistant to changes in Vulgar Latin; see Battisti, *Avvicamento* 244.

10–12 The word pair is in B (cf. also Vo 411.32–9); cf. L 280 *θηρητορον ministrans*, A 80.3, M 161.17–20, CGL II 465.19 *Υπηρητορον ministrans obsequat*.

13–15 For the spelling with *-b-* instead of *-p-*, cf. i–ii 13–15 n. The word pair is in B (cf. cod. A of the Vo glossary, p. 675 Omon); cf. also M 161.56–8, Gloss. Steph. 465.77, Gloss. Bern. 505.43, CGL II 465.8 *Υπαγω αντηνοπορομας βαλο*. There are also other equivalents for the Greek verb *θηάγω* in the tradition, cf. L 275 *θηάγω duc te*, A 80.1 *θηάγω eo*.

15 For *-ei* instead of *-it*, cf. i–ii 7 n.; Väinänen, *Introduction* 30 (confusion of the graphemes *ε* and *ι*).

16–18 For the Latin endings, cf. 8–9 n. *-culo-* and *-calo-* are both found in this and related words, but *-culo-* (as here) is perhaps to be preferred; cf. TLL VI 1274.68–80. The pair is not found in B, but is in Vo 405.68–72; cf. L 282 *θηρόδονον excalia*, Gloss. Steph. 447.43 *excalia, θηρόδονον*. For the Greek verb with other Latin equivalents, cf. M 161.6–19 *θηρόδονο discalio* etc., CGL II 466.33–35 *Υποδομας discalio* etc.; *Υποδοκον excalia*; *Υποδοκον discalio*.

19–21 Cf. L 293. A 79.74, M 160.65–7, Gloss. Steph. 464.68, CGL II 468.29 *Υποθερα perfere subfere*. The pair is not found in B or Vo.

20–21 *uffere/uffi/uffere/uffi*: 1. *uffere suffert*. On the normalization processes applying to irregular verbs, see Väinänen, *Introduction* 136.

21 *α*: corrected from *ω*.

22–4 The pair is in B (cf. Vo 400.4–13); cf. also L 296 *φλεει amat*, A 80.28, M 162.32–8, Gloss. Steph. 439.29 *amat, φλεει*, Gloss. Bern. 495.3, CGL II 472.6 *Φλωω amo amato*.

25–7 The pair is in B (*Br*; *H*); cf. Vo 417.75–418.2; cf. also L 305 *φωα sufflat*, A 80.31, M 162.58–9, Gloss. Steph. 464.69, Gloss. Bern. 495.3, CGL II 474.12 *Φωωω fo sufflo*, CGL VII 31.



## 5162. GRAECO-LATIN THEMATIC GLOSSARY

100/34(n)

12.5 × 29.1 cm

First/second century  
Plate VII

The papyrus contains parts of three columns. Of the first, some Latin words are preserved, while the second and third, of which only the latter is preserved to its full height, give the remains of 42 lines of Greek lemmata and their Latin equivalents. The column height is 23.6 cm, the lower margin is 4.2 cm deep (probably its original depth), and the upper margin was at least 1.2 cm high. The intercolumnium is about 1.9 cm at its narrowest. On the back, upside down in relation to the text of the glossary, are remains of two columns of Greek medical prose, which will be published in a forthcoming volume.

The glossary is written entirely in the Greek alphabet with the Latin transliterated. This suggests that it was primarily intended for Greek speakers learning Latin; cf. A. Bataille, *RechPap* 4 (1967) 165–6. The text is written in an informal round hand. Letters are sometimes joined with ligatures, and there are some curve-tendencies. There is some resemblance to the hands of II 225 (pl. v; Cavallo-Maehler, *Hellenistic Bookhands* 91; 1) and XVIII 2161 (pl. III; *GMAV*<sup>2</sup> 24; II). The majority of the letters are bilinear, with only φ, ψ, ρ, and at times ι violating bilinearity. Uprights and obliques are often slightly curved. The cross-stroke of ε is usually slightly detached and extends beyond its body. It is often connected to the following letter. γ is normally V-shaped and looped at the base, but it is γ-shaped in iii 37 (first) and iii 40 (first). λ has a rounded bowl, while μ has a low round saddle and legs curving out at the bottom. ς may have an almost flat top and is written in two movements, with the cap sometimes separated; ο can be quite small, floating between the lines. There are no diacritical marks except for internal diacresis in ii 13 and rough breathing where needed in the Latin (iii 5). Long ι is regularly spelt ει. Corrections are present at i 5 and iii 20 and 27. Both Greek headings in col. II are placed in *ekthesis*, as is the first of the Latin headings in col. III (6). There is a serious corruption in the Latin at iii 11–12 (see commentary), not corrected in what is preserved. Other errors in the Latin (not including mere orthographical variants) are found at iii 23, 25, 28, 34, 38, and 40: those at 23 and 34 at least are visual corruptions.

The lemmata are organized thematically under headings, three of which can be recognized (i 14: *On the sky*; ii/iii 6: *On stars*; and ii/iii 32: *On winds*). The first section (i 1–13) is fragmentary, but probably lists the names of goddesses. The closest parallel among papyri of bilingual glossaries is XLVI 3315 (I/N; C. Gloss. Biling. I 8), which gives parts of two thematic groups. One column is partially preserved, with Latin written in the Greek alphabet. 3315 presents the last five of the signs of the zodiac, given in the correct order: Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius,

Pisces. (In our papyrus at ii/iii 27–31, a different order is found.) The names given under the heading *On winds* in 3315 recur in our papyrus, with one exception: *Volturnus* is only given in 3315 12. There are slight differences in the orthography of the wind names in the two lists. The order of names is identical, except that 3315 omits *Eurus* after *Africus*, and has *Volturnus* (not present in 5162) after *Favonius*; it breaks off after *Subolanus*. Differences in the Greek–Latin equivalents cannot be detected, since the Greek of 3315 is missing.

If the reconstruction adopted here is correct, the first thematic group in the papyrus (names of goddesses) is paralleled by P. Mich. inv. 2458 (II/N; N. E. Priest, *ZPE* 27 (1977) 193–200; C. Gloss. Biling. I 12). There a series of names of gods (i/ii 1–11) is followed by a list of names of goddesses (i/ii 13–28), introduced by a heading (i/ii 12). Again, the Latin is written in the Greek alphabet.

There are numerous papyri containing similar thematic lists of names (e.g. fish in C. Gloss. Biling. I 5; fish and vegetables in C. Gloss. Biling. I 6 and 7 (XXXIII 2660 and 2660a); months in C. Gloss. Biling. I 11); see C. Gloss. Biling. II p. 26.

The lemmata in the glossary are well attested in the Hermeneumata. The order of the sections in our papyrus is closely matched by M (167.25– ) and C. In each of these, the first five sections of the thematic glossary (omitting minor divergences in the wording of the titles) are (in Latin) *deorum nomina*, *deorum nomina*, *de caelo*, *de signis caelestibus*, and *de XII signis*. The last four of these are found in the same order in the papyrus (although *de XII signis* is attached to the preceding section without a separate heading). Other thematic glossaries in the Hermeneumata also begin with *deorum nomina*, *deorum nomina*, *de caelo* (L 391–513, A 82.51–83.46) or *deorum nomina*, *deorum nomina* (E 236.21–237.9, Mp 289.41–291.53) before diverging (I have not distinguished cases where goddesses follow gods in a single list). Only in B (followed by S) are *deorum nomina* and *deorum nomina* in second and third place, after *de caelo* (393.28–394.10, 348.8–49). Dr Henry suggests that the papyrus text also began with a list of names of gods and that the preserved section listing names of goddesses was the second (cf. for this part of the sequence also C. Gloss. Biling. I 12, mentioned above): in that case, to judge by M, in which the first two sections extend from 167.25 to 168.57, two pairs of columns might suffice to contain the material lost at the start.

As in our papyrus (ii/iii 2–5), the seasons are often listed under the heading *περί οὐρανοῦ de caelo* (L 484, M 168.58, S 347.27, C iii). In Mp, the relevant heading is *περί κεκλιμένων de tempestatibus* (293.65), while in E, they are listed under the heading *περί χρόνου de temporibus* (242.25), and in Vat they appear under the heading *περί γῆς de terra* (399). In A, they are attached to the list of goddesses' names, but *periogram de caelo* is the next section (83.34).

The section *de caelo* is followed by *de signis caelestibus* in M and C (see above) and in E (241.17, 35) and effectively in Vat (265 *de caelo*, 278–9 *nomina stellarum*), while in Mp the sections on stars immediately precede *de tempestatibus*. The papyrus includes

the signs of the zodiac at the end of the section *περι ἄστρον*, while in the thematic glossaries found in the Hermeneumata they have a separate heading, whether they stand alone (L 1703 (cf. A 82.49–50), Mp 291.54, Vo 405.24) or with other stars (M 170.16, C v, E 241.67, Vat 291–2). (There is another list in L at 72.34–45, without separate heading, but this is not part of the thematic glossary.) The signs of the zodiac are given in the correct order in the Hermeneumata and in 3315 where preserved, as mentioned above. In our papyrus they appear in a different order, though the first two and last are correctly placed.

The list of wind names appears in the Hermeneumata at L 599–610, A 84.50–64, M 172.5–28, E 245.30–50, Mp 295.10–28, S 354.6–29, B 395.66–396.6, Vat 380–98, C xlviii. In 3315, as in 5162, the wind names come immediately after the signs of the zodiac. This sequence of these two elements is found in the Hermeneumata only in the fuller version of B used in Vo, with a book division before *de ventis* (Dionisotti, *RHT* 14–15 (1984–5) 306–7 with 307 n. 1).

col. i

]τας  
].  
], α  
]ξ  
5 κωνκόροδ[ξ]ια  
]  
]ωραι  
]  
]  
10 ]  
]τια  
].  
ιουου]εντους  
δη κα]λω  
15 καιλο]υμ  
]  
]ουμ  
]τους  
20 ]ε  
]ατ  
]  
]  
]

cols. ii–iii

[ ] ν[  
[εαρ ] ου]ηρ  
[θερως ] α[ι]ετ[ιας  
5 [φθωνωπου] αυτο]ρμνους  
χειμων ] ζεμψ[  
περι αστρω]ν δη σε]ιδεριβους  
αστρα ] σειδ[ερα  
αστερες ] στηλ]λαι  
εσπερος ] ουεετ[ερ  
10 φωσφορο]ε] λουκι]φερ  
αρκτος ] ουεργ]υλια  
πλιας ] φειδιε]ουλα  
οϊστος ] σαιγα  
κων ] κανι  
15 λυρα ] φηδικου]λα  
ειρις ] αρκου  
δελφειν ] δελφεινου]ε  
στεφ]α]ρος κορωνα  
ιππο]ε]κος  
20 κριος ] αρ]ε]η]ηρς  
ταυρος ] ταυρου  
λιων ] λεο  
εγρον ] λιβωλ  
παρθενε ] ουιργο

25	]μ ] ] ] ], α ] ] ] ]α ] ]	25	αγκοκρω διδυμοι υδροχοος τοδοτης σκορπιος 30 κανκωος ιθυος περι ανεμων ανεμος β]ορεας νοτος 35 λ]ειψ ευρος ζεφυρος α]παρκιας 40 α]πηλιωτηρ χ]αυρος κ]αικιας	καπριοκ]ορνου γαμημοει ακ]ο]υριοι]ε ταγ]ταρ]ιουε σκορπιο κανκρου]ε πιε]ε]ε δη ε]υε]ντεε ουε]ν]τουε ακοι]ε αυστερ αφρικουε ευρουε φωανικουε σεπτεντριο ουε]β]ε]ω]λιανουε τερεστριε καικιας
----	--	----	--	--

... Concordia, ... Horae (?), ... Iuuentus.

<sup>1</sup>On the sky: sky, ... spring, summer, autumn, winter.

<sup>2</sup>On stars: stars, Evening Star, Morning Star, Ursa Major, Pleiad, Sagitta, Sirius/Canis Major, Lyra, rainbow, Dolphin, Corona, Equus, Aries, Taurus, Leo, Libra, Virgo, Capricorn, Gemini, Aquarius, Sagittarius, Scorpio, Cancer, Pisces.

<sup>3</sup>On winds: wind, north wind, south wind, south-west wind, east wind, west wind (zephyr), north wind, east wind, north-west wind, north-east wind.<sup>4</sup>

col. i

The upper margin is not preserved, but to judge from col. iii, no lines are lost at the top of the column.

<sup>1</sup>The first trace is an upright. If it represents τ, suitable names of goddesses (cf. 5 n.) with approximately five letters before the ending *-ias* are *Filicites* (L 457, Mp 291.25, B 394.6 (S 34B.45), C ii.40–41), *Signitas* (L 473), *libertas* (M 168.17, C ii.36), *caustitas* (M 168.36, C ii.83), *uoluptas* (Mp 291.43, C ii.112).

<sup>2</sup>The upper arc of a circle and a trace on the line, perhaps ε.

<sup>3</sup>], a speck at mid-line level. Naturally, there are many names of goddesses (cf. 5 n.) ending with ε and having approximately six letters before this ending, e.g. *Minerva* (L 432, A 83.14, etc.), *fortuna* (L 457, C ii.47, etc.), *bellona* (M 168.43, C ii.44, etc.), *victoria* (M 168.48, C ii.48).

<sup>4</sup>Since there is space for about five letters, the name of a goddess (cf. 5 n.) to be supplied is probably *ulixis* (C. Gloss. Biling. I 12 ii 21; M 168.21, Mp 291.40, C ii.23).

<sup>5</sup>The ε is deleted by dots above and below, and a short cancel stroke is squeezed in between it and the preceding δ. As the name of a goddess, *concordia* occurs frequently in the Hermeneumata in CGL III with its Greek equivalent *ἀμόνοια*: L 458, M 168.28, Mp 291.15, B 393.54 (S 34B.34). It also appears in C ii.98, where it is immediately followed by *discordia* (ii.39), which does not appear as the

name of a goddess in the Hermeneumata in CGL III. For the placing of goddesses' names here in the sequence of topics, see the introduction.

7 Of  $\omega$ , a trace surviving the right-hand side. With the ending  $-\rho\alpha\iota$  we find only one goddess name: *horae* (A 83.33, M 168.46, C ii.59). But by itself this would not extend so far to the right. [Dr Henry suggests that the entry in the preceding line, only about four letters long to judge by 5, was  $\omega\rho\alpha\iota$ , and that line 7 contained  $\omega\rho\alpha\iota\rho\alpha\upsilon\alpha$ , a corruption (for *aurora*) due to the influence of the preceding line: cf. on ii-iii 38, 40 for corruption in the Latin possibly due to the influence of earlier entries. For the sequence, cf. M 168.45-6, where *aurora* immediately precedes *horae*; for *Ἡώς Aurora* in lists of goddesses, cf. also L 447, 477, Mp 290.70, C ii.24.]

11 The most likely goddess name with approximately eight letters before the ending  $-\alpha\iota\alpha$  is *proserpina* (L 476, C ii.66, etc.) or *demeter* (Mp 291.33). C, however, contains further possible incisions (e.g. *indulgencia* ii.138, *experientia* ii.100, *immunitas* ii.109) which usually do not occur in other Hermeneumata.

12 ] : the lower part of an oblique descending from left to right.

13 For the goddess Iuvenus, cf. OLD s.v. 3. The name appears in C ii.61 as the equivalent of the Greek  $\text{Ἰούβη}$ ; cf. *Iuvenia* in L 478.

14 Of ], the edge of an upright. For parallels for the order of topics, see the introduction.

15 For the assumed pattern, with *caelum* immediately following the heading *de caelo*, cf. L 485, M 168.50, E 241.18, Vat 286, S 347.2, 28, and comparable sequences below at ii/iii.6-7, 32-3; for *caelum*, also P Lond. II 481 (C. Gloss. Biling. I 13) 8 (εραλου), C iii.6.

17 Possible meteorological terms with approximately five letters before the preserved ending include *nubilum* (L 489, C iii.45, etc.), *serenum* (L 490, C iii.47, etc.), *tonitruum* (L 508, written as *tonitruum*, A 83.35), etc.

19 Possibilities found under this heading include *aestas* (L 499, A 83.43, C iii.71, etc.), *hiestas* (C iii.50), *crepitus* (C iii.82), *tumulus* (C iii.89), etc. Since only *aestas* is preserved in more than one source and its length also matches the size of the lacuna, it is the most likely.

20 Possibilities include *nubes* (L 488, C iii.44, etc.), *ros* (L 492, C iii.63, etc.), *frigus* (L 498, C iii.142, etc.). As the lacuna is short, *ros* is the most probable.

21 Possibilities of about the right length include *rosas* (M 169.5, C iii.66, etc.) and *tonas* (M 169.16, C iii.102, etc.). [Dr Henry notes that the sequence favours the former: cf. M 169.3-5, E 242.52-4, Mp 294.38-9, C iii.63-6.]

23 A spot of ink on the edge.

25 Cf. 17 n. for possible supplements.

27 ] : an upright, perhaps 1. A possibility is *phasia* (L 499, M 169.7, C iii.55, etc.).

33 Meteorological terms with approximately four or five letters before the ending -a include *nebula* (L 491, C iii.66, etc.), *nubila* (B 293.7 (S 347.1)), *nille* (C ii.69), *umbra* (C iii.90, etc.).

There is space for nine more lines at the foot of the column below line 35.

col. ii-iii

1 In the Hermeneumata, the Latin word beginning with *n* that appears closest to *os* is most often *nix* (L 496, M 169.9, Mp 294.43, S 347.43), but the two never occur one after the other.

2-3 In the Hermeneumata, we find the names of the four seasons one after the other five times: three times in the same order as in the papyrus (L 500-503, A 83.27-30, C iii.24-27), and twice in a different order (S 347.40-52: winter, spring, summer, autumn; Vat 436-51: summer, spring, autumn, winter). In other versions, the names do not form a single block: M 168.65, 169.27-9; E 242.42, 44, 46-7; Mp 293.72, 294.32, 46, 51.

2 Restored on the basis of the presence at 3-5 of the other three seasons.

3  $\sigma\iota[\epsilon\tau\alpha\epsilon\alpha\epsilon\alpha\sigma]$  or  $-\text{fasc}$ . Both forms appear in this word pair in the Hermeneumata. Cf. I. 501, A 83.28, M 169.27, E 242.46, Mp 294.32, S 347.51, Vat 436, C iii.35, CGL II 327.64.

4 On the basis of the Latin, a Greek word meaning 'autumn' is to be restored, either  $\phi\theta\iota\nu\sigma\tau\omega\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma$  or  $\mu\epsilon\tau\omega\rho\omega\rho\alpha\upsilon\alpha$ .  $\phi\theta\iota\nu\sigma\tau\omega\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma$  is more probable, since all of the Hermeneumata use it: I. 502, A 83.29, M 169.29, Mp 294.51, S 347.52, C iii.36. E 242.47 has both terms. In CGL II we find  $\mu\epsilon\tau\omega\rho\omega\rho\alpha\upsilon\alpha$  as the Greek equivalent of *autumnus* three times (27.36, 366.27, 542.14), and  $\phi\theta\iota\nu\sigma\tau\omega\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma$  occurs similarly three times (470.52, 491-4, 514.54).

5 The word-initial *iota* seems to be written with an L-shaped rough breathing. For the word pair, cf. L 503, A 83.30, M 168.65, E 242.42, Mp 293.78, S 347.49, Vat 438, C iii.37, CGL II 68.21, 476.20, 495.72, 540.51, 553.12. In the majority of these entries (all except E 242.42, C iii.37, and CGL II 540.51), the word is spelt with  $-\iota\alpha$  as here. See in general on the spelling with  $\text{ἰ}$  TLi. V.9, 273.62 ff.

6 The thematic title under which the names of stars are grouped is not found in this form in the Hermeneumata, which instead attest a longer form:  $\nu\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\ \nu\alpha\iota\alpha\ \sigma\theta\epsilon\lambda\omega\sigma\alpha\iota\ \delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega\sigma\alpha\iota\ \sigma\theta\epsilon\lambda\omega\sigma\alpha\iota$  or  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega\sigma\alpha\iota$  or  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega\sigma\alpha\iota$  or  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega\sigma\alpha\iota$  (but in the table of contents (4) the title appears as  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega\sigma\alpha\iota$  or  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega\sigma\alpha\iota$ ). On the basis of the Hermeneumata,  $\delta\eta\ \epsilon\tau[\epsilon\gamma\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha]$  would also be possible. The translation of *acerra* in the next line lends some support to the supplement printed, but the inconsistency is not impossible: M has the same in the first entry of the section.

7 For the word pair, cf. M 169.64, E 241.36 (in the singular and with the Latin equivalents *signum*, *astrum*, *sidus*), Mp 293.10 (in the singular), Vat 277, CGL II 183.39, 42 (in the singular), and 248.50 (in the singular).

8 For the word pair, cf. P Lond. II 481 (C. Gloss. Biling. I 13) 6, L 486, M 168.63, E 242.9 (in the singular), S 347.39, 48 (in the singular), B 293.6 (S 347.3), V 417.70, CGL II 188.15 and 248.36 (both in the singular).

9 For the word pair, cf. M 170.15, Gloss. Bern. CGL III 492.77, V 417.70 (S 352.23; also C iv.6 (Lat. *vesperugo*), Vat 280-81.

10 For the word pair, cf. M 169.65, E 242.21/2, Mp 293.44, Vat 282, C iv.5, CGL II 124.36 and 474.26.

11  $\nu\epsilon\sigma\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha$  (glosses  $\mu\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\delta$  (ii 12): at some stage in the transmission, a scribe accidentally skipped the Latin equivalent of  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$  and copied the Latin equivalent from the next line instead. Cf. M 169.66 *actus septentria*, E 241.29  $\delta\ \delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \sigma\epsilon\pi\tau\epsilon\mu\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha$ , 241.60  $\eta\ \delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \nu\epsilon\sigma\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha$ , Mp 293.14-15  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \epsilon\lambda\eta\eta\ \sigma\epsilon\pi\tau\epsilon\mu\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \mu\alpha\iota\alpha$ ,  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \nu\epsilon\sigma\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \mu\alpha\iota\alpha$ , Vat 286  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \sigma\epsilon\pi\tau\epsilon\mu\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha$ , C iv.1 *ursae aequinoctii*, CGL II 244.53  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \eta\ \epsilon\tau\ \tau\omega\ \sigma\theta\epsilon\lambda\omega\sigma\alpha\iota\ \sigma\epsilon\pi\tau\epsilon\mu\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha$ .

12  $\mu\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\delta$ . The Greek word otherwise occurs in bilingual lists in the plural, with Latin *vergilias* (11 n.): cf. M 170.2, E 241.63 (Lat. *plaiades, vergiliae*), Mp 293.18, Vat 284, CGL II 206.34 and 209.11.  $\mu\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\delta$  (i.e. *fulgidula*). The usual transcription of Latin *i* would be  $\epsilon$  or  $\epsilon$ ; see Gignac, *Grammar* i 254-6.  $\mu\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\delta$  (i.e. *fulgidula*) may have come in, after the presence of an omission (cf. 11 n.), had been detected, from an unrelated marginal addition meant as a correction for  $\mu\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\delta$  (15). The correct Latin equivalent of the Greek  $\mu\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\delta$  is found in the previous line.

13  $\nu\epsilon\sigma\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha$ : i.e. *auguria*; for the simplification of the geminate, cf. 28, 41; V. Vähanänen, *Introduction au latin vulgaire* (1981) 58. For the word pair in astronomical context, cf. M 170.6, E 241.47, Mp 293.33, C iv.16.

14 For the word pair, cf. M 169.67, E 241.56, Mp 293.28 (Lat. *caniculae*), S 348.4 (Lat. *caniculae*), C iv.20, CGL II 97.5 and 357.22.

15 For the transcription of Latin *i* as  $\eta$ , see Gignac, *Grammar* i 239. For the word pair, cf. M 170.5, C iv.18, E 241.42 (both *fulgidula* and *lynx*), Mp 293.33 has only *lynx* as the Latin equivalent. Cf. also 12 n. above.

16  $\epsilon\pi\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha$ : I.  $\epsilon\pi\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha$ . Cf. I. 7, 20, 36; Gignac, *Grammar* i 189-91. For the pair, cf. M 170.4, S 348.6, Vat 285, C iv.17, CGL II 333.10. Mp has *plaga* for  $\epsilon\pi\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha$  (292.64) and *accus* as the equivalent of  $\xi\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$  (292.65), apparently as a result of transcription.

17 δελφιν. I. δελφίν, a later form of δελφίς; see LSJ s.v. For the pair, cf. E 241.49, Mp 293.36, C iv.29, CGL II 472.4, 268.2.

18 Cf. M 170.14, E 241.40, Mp 293.21, S 348.5, C iv.24, CGL II 116.55 and 437.38.

19 Cf. Mp 293.32, C iv.25, CGL II 62.27 and 332.56; C. Gloss. Biling. I 9.5 ακουε with n. 20 κρεοει = I. κρεοει.

21 α[ε]ίηρος: for the correction, cf. 15. The reverse insertion of the nasal is the result of the corresponding loss of nasals in speech; see Gignac, *Grammari* 119. In Latin, this phenomenon is particularly characteristic of the consonant cluster *-ns-*; see Väitäninen, *Introduction* 64. Starting from this line, the twelve signs of the zodiac are listed without an introductory title. For the word pair, cf. L 170.74, 72.34, M 170.17, E 241.68, Mp 291.56, Vat 295, C v.2 (adding after this entry, we find the symbols of the signs of the zodiac instead of their Latin names), CGL II 355.26.

21 For the word pair, cf. L 170.5, 72.35, M 170.18, E 241.69, Mp 291.60, Vat 295, Vo 420.25, CGL II 457.4.

22 λος: ο for final -ο in the nominative, as regularly in this papyrus (24, 29, 34 (corrupt; see n.), 39), implies the colloquial pronunciation -δ; cf. e.g. R. G. Coleman, in J. N. Adams and R. G. Mayer (eds.), *Aspects of the Language of Latin Poetry* (1999) 98. For the word pair, cf. L 170.8, 72.38, M 170.21, E 241.72, Mp 292.5, Vat 298, Vo 409.71, CGL II 360.7.

23 διδωλ written in error for διβη (διβητο); perhaps the upright of β and a part of α were not easily recognisable in the exemplar. For the word pair, cf. L 1710, 72.40, M 170.23, E 242.2, Mp 292.12, Vat 300. The Hermeneumata (including C v.8) have ζυγδ instead of ζυγδν.

24 ουγγο: for the final -ο, cf. 22 n. For the word pair, cf. L 170.9, 72.39, M 170.22, E 242.1, Mp 292.8, Vat 299, CGL II 209.19.

25 κασριος(ορνουε): i.e. *castricornis* (κασιχορνουε). For the word pair, cf. L 1713 (contaminated with the word pair *τοξοτερος sagittarius*), 72.43, M 170.26, E 242.5, Mp 292.27, Vat 303, Vo 403.62, CGL II 97.23 and 220.10.

26 γεμενιδι: for ε corresponding to short Latin ι, cf. 12 n.; Γεμενιδε is common in the name. For the word pair, cf. L 170.6, 72.36, M 170.19, E 241.70, Mp 291.65, Vat 295, CGL II 32.40.

27 αε[ε]οισριος(ε): the correction was carried out with a cancel stroke touching the right-hand side of α. For variations in representation of Latin *qu*, see Gignac, *Grammari* 1235-6. For the word pair, cf. L 1714, 72.44, E 242.6, Mp 292.30, Vat 304, Vo 400.53.

28 ταυεραγ(ουε): τ is written for c at the start, perhaps the result of a visual corruption (cf. 23 above), c having been written with a pronounced angle at the top left. For the simplification of the geminate *tt*, cf. 13 n. For the word pair, cf. L 1712 (cf. 25 n.), 72.45, M 170.25, E 242.3, Mp 292.30, Vat 302, Vo 418.49, CGL II 177.10 and 457.14.

29 κερπιε: for the final -ε, cf. 22 n. For the word pair, cf. L 1711, 72.41, M 170.24, E 242.3, Mp 292.15, Vat 301, Vo 418.48, CGL II 433.58.

30 κανικουε: I. κανικουε. For the interchange of liquids and nasals see Gignac, *Grammari* 1109-10. [Dr Henry notes that *κανικ* shows the influence of the Latin, suggesting that the two columns were copied together at some stage.]

κανισριος(ε): i.e. *caner*. The false ending (cf. TLL III 228.32-4) may be due to the Vulgar Latin process whereby nouns of the second declension ending in -er tend to adopt the more transparent -us ending of masculine nouns, for which a standard example is provided in *Appendix Probi* 139 *aper* *non aperus*; cf. J. G. F. Powell in R. Ferri (ed.), *The Latin of Roman Leontography* (2011) 117-18. For the word pair, cf. L 1707, 72.37, M 170.20, E 241.71, Mp 292.9, Vat 297, CGL II 57.10 and 338.37.

31 ιϋθιουε κροισ[ι]. The Greek name of the constellation *Faces* is plural (cf. L 1715, 72.45, E 242.7, C v.13, CGL II 121.15); but in three Hermeneumata it occurs as here in the singular (M 170.38, Mp 292.38, Vat 305). For -ουε representing -ι, cf. 12 n.

32 The thematic title is found in L 599, A 84.50, M 172.5, E 245.30, Mp 295.10, S 354.6, B

395.66 (Vo 405.25), C xviii (Greek only but cf. the table of contents, 56), and 3315.6. A different thematic title is found in Vat 380-81: *των ανωνων να αναμανα τοντωνων νομινα*.

33 With one exception (A), all the thematic lists of names of winds (including that in 3315, start with this word pair (for the Vo glossary, cf. A p. 675 Omont). It also appears in the glossaries of CGL II (206.10, 225.49); cf. also P. Lond. II 481 (C. Gloss. Biling. I 13) 11.

34 ακουλε: i.e. *aquilo*. It will be a visual corruption of the expected ο (cf. 22 n.). The normative transcription of the Latin word *Aquilo* would be ακουλιουε; cf. 3315.8. According to Gignac, *Grammari* 1295-6, the similar word *Aquila* never appears as *Ακουλι*, only *Ακουλ* - or rarely *Ακουλ* -, but *αε* for *qu* is well attested in the name *Quintus*. For the word pair, cf. L 602, A 84.57, M 172.8, Mp 295.13, S 354.15, B 395.69 (Vo 400.57), Vat 384, C xviii.10, CGL II 298.47.

35 The Latin wind name is present in 3315.9. For the word pair, cf. L 604, Mp 295.20, S 354.13, B 395.70 (Vo 400.56), Vat 382, C xviii.11, CGL II 27.33 and 377.16. In other versions of the Hermeneumata, *υβρος* has different Latin equivalents: A 84.62 and M 172.9 *officus*, E 245.42 *notus*.

36 Αεουε: I. Αε. The Latin wind name is present in 3315.10. For the word pair, cf. L 603, E 245.44, Mp 295.19, S 354.16, B 395.71 (Vo 400.59), C xviii.13. A 84.64 has *euster* as the Latin equivalent (cf. previous n.).

37 For the word pair, cf. A 84.54, M 172.12/13 (owing to the omission of a Latin equivalent in this thematic group, several Greek lemmata have their Latin equivalents in the preceding line), E 245.35, S 354.29, B 395.72, C xviii.6, CGL II 319.22. Another Latin equivalent appears with εβροε in Mp 295.22 (*eburus*), 23 (*terrester*), S 354.12 (*ulturnus*; cf. CGL II 212.42, Gloss. Steph. CGL III 474.48, L 607 (c).j).

38 The normative Latin transcription would be *φαιωνουε* as in 3315.11. The omission of the semivowel *z* as elsewhere in this word (ILL VI.1 382.34-7) is characteristic of Vulgar Latin; see Väitäninen, *Introduction* 51. There are several examples in the *Appendix Probi* (e.g. *29 acus non acis*, *62 flauis non flaus*, *176 passor non pass)*; cf. Powell (30 n.) 114. The superfluous *z* may be due to the influence of 36 *αβρουε*. For the word pair, cf. M 172.10/11, Mp 295.21, S 354.14, B 396.1 (Vo 406.70), Vat 389, C xviii.17, CGL II 71.10 and 328.8. The Greek word appears with a different Latin equivalent in E 245.37 (*αβηρουε*).

39 α[ε]ταρκαουε: for the spelling, see CGL Index s.v. *Aparcacia*, *Septemtrio*; LSJ and Rev. Suppl. s.v. *Asparcacia*.

κεντεριουε: present in 3315.13. For the final -ο, cf. 22 n. For the word pair, cf. L 605, A 84.58, M 172.11/12, Mp 295.18, S 354.24, B 395.74, Vat 388, C xviii.16, CGL II 182.29 and 233.23. The Greek word has a different Latin equivalent in E 245.39 (*aequilo*), while Vo 418.51 has *septentrio arcus* (shown by the sequence to be the wind, but cf. 11 n. above).

40 ουβ[ε]ζυθλιουε: I. *ouβεζυθλιουε*; the superfluous *z* may be due to the influence of 27-8 above. For the word pair, cf. M 172.14/15, E 245.33, Mp 295.25, S 354.25, B 395.73 (Vo 418.50), Vat 387, CGL II 253.1. The Greek word has a different Latin equivalent, *desolatus (-rius)*, in L 608, C xviii.15 (cf. Vo 405.26).

41-2 There is casual ink (a large blot) to the left of the initial letters of col. iii.

41 *τερετριουε*: i.e. *terestris*; for the simplification of the geminate, cf. 13 n. The meaning 'north-west wind' is not given in OLD or Lewis and Short. The word pair only occurs in C xviii.18 (Lat. *terestris*), but in Mp 295.22-9, *eburus* and *terestris* appear in successive lines each as a translation of *εβροε*. The Greek word appears with different Latin equivalents: L 609 *aequalis*, A 84. 60 *corus*, S 354.27 *aequalis*, B 396.2 (cf. the Vo glossary, 4 p. 675 Omont) and Vat 390 *ulturnus*. Likewise, *terestris (-us)* appears with different Greek equivalents, *ἀνέμωε* (S 354.17, Vat 397, CGL II 197.38, 235.59) and *εβριουε* (Vo 420.26).

42 The word pair is attested only once in the Hermeneumata, at E 245.34.

## 5163. GRAECO-LATIN THEMATIC GLOSSARY

74/7(a)

fr. 1 16.3 × 22.9 cm

First/second century

Two fragments of a roll, blank on the back, the larger (fr. 1) with upper margin, preserved to its original height of 3.6 cm, and remains of two columns, broken at the foot. Parts of the first 23 lines of col. 1 and of the first 13 lines of the following column are present, together with a narrow intercolumnium (0.9 cm wide at its narrowest). (Not included below are two unplaced fragments, of which one is blank and the other has no decipherable letters except a single x.)

The text (Greek and transliterated Latin in the Greek alphabet) is written in a medium-sized informal upright round hand. Α is broad with a triangular loop, narrowing to a sharp point, which may extend well below the line underneath the preceding letter. θ (fr. 1 i 2) has a flat base with the loops added in a sinusoid not touching the upright. The right-hand sides of η and π may be curved (e.g. i 13), or virtually upright (e.g. i 14). Serifs are sometimes added, but not consistently: note especially κ with exaggerated left-pointing serifs at top and bottom, as at i 6, 9, 20, ii 2. The hand of III 466 (directions for wrestling), placed by the editors in the second century but by Cavallo (Pap. Flor. XXXVI [2005] 228) in the first, has many similar features. A comparable dated hand is that of LVIII 3917 (early n); cf. also LXV 4453 with the editor's introduction.

The text is copied without the use of lection signs. A break between two thematic divisions at i 3 is marked by an ornamental divider extending as far right as the longer of the two preceding lines (i) and beginning slightly to the left of the preceding line-beginnings. Then the Greek title of the new section stands in *ἐκθεσις*. Outward-pointing obliques set off the Greek title to the right and were probably balanced by symmetrically placed obliques to the left, where the papyrus is lost. Following the long Greek title, the Latin equivalent necessarily begins further to the right than the Latin glosses at the top of the column, but it stands slightly in *ἐκθεσις* in relation to the Latin glosses below, just as the Greek title stands in *ἐκθεσις* in relation to the lines that follow. The scribe does not take the trouble to match the alignment of the Greek entries following the title precisely to that of the entries preceding the break, but begins instead slightly further to the left. The initial letter of the first entry of the new section (i 5) is enlarged. It is likely that the scribe copied each Latin gloss together with the corresponding Greek entry, as expected. If he had copied all the Greek entries for the column before he began adding the Latin glosses, he would no doubt have avoided placing the glosses for the first two lines on an alignment too far to the left to be maintained in what follows.

The orthography is generally good. There are itacistic spellings at i 6 and 22 (?), a minor error at i 20, and possibly a more serious corruption in the Latin at i 9.

The text is of value as treating subjects not hitherto represented in thematic

glossaries on papyrus: insects (i 1-2, but the original heading is lost: see n.), furniture (i 4-ii 13), and perhaps iron objects (fr. 2). As was to be expected, the entries and their organization correspond fairly closely to those of the *Hermeneumata*. While they do not match precisely any single version, there are several striking unique correspondences to Mp: see on fr. 1 i 1-2, 16, 22, ii 5, 10-11. There are also a few more or less noteworthy novelties: see e.g. on fr. 1 i 7, 9, 19, 20, 22, ii 2.

fr. 1

col. i

] μυρμηξ φορμικα  
 ] κλφη βλαττα  
 ] |||||  
 ] περιε[δ]ομενειας/δγουτελλεκτε  
 5 ] ενδ[οι]νεια \ κουπελλεξ  
 ] κλεινη λεκτονος  
 ] εση[λατ]η σπονδατ  
 . . . . .]ον φουλκρουμ  
 . . . . .] κουτται  
 10 ] λεκτικα  
 ] . . . . .ουμ  
 πυργυσκο]ε αρμυριουμ  
 κευο]θηκημ ονασαριουμ  
 τρα]πεζα μητρα  
 15 τρα]πουσ τριση[ε]  
 κικ]τη κικτ[α]  
 . . .]ρον σου[  
 . . .]. ερε[  
 κα]μπτρα α[  
 20 γλα]σοκαμον α[  
 μ]οδιοκ μο[δ]ιουκ  
 . . .]ικιον λε[  
 . . .]ε [

col. ii

κρ[υτ]ανη [  
 κλ[ι]μαξ [  
 λυ[χ]ορ [  
 ολ[μ]ορ [  
 υπ[ε]ρον [  
 κ[ο]κινον [  
 εν[  
 λικ[νον  
 μακτρα  
 κκα[φ  
 κκα[φ  
 εφ. [  
 . [

<sup>1</sup>ant, cockroach.

<sup>2</sup>On furniture: furniture, couch, frame of a couch, back of a couch, . . . , litter, footstool (?), cupboard, chest, table, three-legged table, box, bench (?), seat (?), case, casket, i-median vessel, i-chonae vessel (?), . . . balance, ladder, lamp, mortar, pestle, sieve, . . . , winnowing-fan, kneading-trough, trough, small trough (?), basket (?), . . .

col. i

1-2 These pairs are commonly attested. C includes both in section xiv, *περὶ θηρίων* (43 (*fermicia* μοῦρος) 94), and the second again in section xv, *περὶ ἔρπειων* (1). Otherwise, those thematic glosses that include both pairs place *εὐφήμη βλάται* with birds and *μύρμηξ fermicia* with quadrupeds (L 1006, 1060; M 188.51, 189.52) or beasts (Vat 1069, 760). The sequence of topics found here is paralleled in Mp, where *εὐφήμη βλάται* stands at 320.53 towards the end of a list of quadrupeds (320.1-60) which immediately precedes the furniture section.

4-7 *κλίνη lectus* is regularly the first entry in such lists after *ἐπιδομμένα supellex* itself. In three cases (L 1147-50, A 92.8-11, C xxiv; cf. S 365.76-9, where the list proper begins instead with *supellex lignea ἐπιδομμένα ἐκλήθη*), it is followed immediately by *ἐπιλάτων sponda*, of which we find here the plural (see 7 n.); Mp 320.61-3, M 196.65-7, and E 269.28-30 diverge after *κλίνη lectus*.

7 We should have expected the singular *sponda* on the Latin side. Other thematic glossaries have the singular in both languages (L 1150, A 92.11, S 365.79, Mp 321.2-3, M 197.11, C xxiv); E 269.32 *ἐπιλάτων sponda lecti*. The plural (*ἐπιλάτων sponda*) is found at CGL II 299.

8 Various forms of the Greek are attested in thematic glossaries: C xxiv.5 has *ψάκται ἀνάκλων*, Mp 321.1 *ανακλῶντων ψάκτων* (*ἀνάκλωντων* Boucherie), M 197.12 *ἀνακλῶντων ψάκτων*, and E 269.33 *ἀνακλῶντων* (with no Latin). CGL II 74-8 gives *ψάκται ἀνακλωντων* (*ἀνάκλωντων* δ), and *ανακλωντων* is among the glosses for *ψάκται* at CGL II 150.33; CGL II 256.24 gives *ψάκται ἀνακλωντων* (*ἀνάκλωντων* δ). To judge by the space available, [ανακλωντων] as in C may be the likeliest here. See further C. A. Lobeck, *Rhetoricae Eliciae* (1820) 131-2; also LXIII 4389 a n.

9 *κορτίνας* is puzzling. CGL II 321.53 gives *Cortina*, *maxillium*, in which *cortina* has been thought to stand for *curtina*, and *cortinas* in the late sense 'curtains' would be fairly suitable, but seems not to be paralleled in lists of this kind, and we would expect an item of wooden furniture. *v* for *i* is not found often in Greek documents (Gignac, *Grammatik* 109). The high flat trace at letter-top level on the Greek side appears to be too far to the right to be part of *αἰαίαι*, which would be expected as the Greek equivalent of *cortinas* (cf. TLL IV 1072.15-21); *παροπταίματα*, glossed elsewhere by *αἰαίαι* (CGL VI 115), would extend well to the right of the trace, but it is possible that the end of the word has been lost through abrasion.

10 Greek *φορεῖον* (CGL VI 632).

11 *σκαβέλλουμ* (*scabellum*) seems suitable. If it is correct, *ὑποστέδιον* will probably have stood on the Greek side (CGL VII 236).

12 *πυργισκο*: cf. XLIX 3452 i 16 (C. Gloss. Biling. II 716). The standard gloss (CGL VI 95).

13 For parallels, cf. Mp 322.27, S 366.57; CGL VII 394.

14 A common pair (CGL VI 691; cf. C. Gloss. Biling. I 15.7).

15 Cf. Mp 321.25, S 366.11, Vö 420.23 *τρίαιμα τρίαινα*; C xxiv.143 *τρίαιμα τρίαινα, πυριστατων*; CGL VII 367.

16 Not a common pair in such lists, but cf. Mp 321.19; CGL VI 216.

17 Perhaps *διεῖρον σκαβέλλουμ*: cf. S 366.12, C xxiv.26; CGL VII 308. In CGL II 255.21, *subsellium* is the last gloss for *Βαθρον*.

18 Perhaps *διφορῆς* *εἰθέλα* (CGL VII 232; cf. C. Gloss. Biling. I 14.21 *zeta sifin (= διφορ(ο)ν?)*). *εἰθέλα* is also possible on the Latin side (CGL VII 230).

19 The regular gloss for *κάμπτρα* is *οφθα* (CGL VI 179), but that does not seem to suit the trace. *κάμπτρα* is among the glosses for *Ατρα* *et* *ατρα* at CGL II 24.49, and one of those may have stood here.

20 *γλωσσόκομον*: i.e. *γλωσσόκομος*. There does not seem to be room for a second *κ*. The same spelling is found in papyrus in the letter P. Tebt. II 414.21 (n) and the list P. Berl. Sarisch. 21.35, 50 (v/v); cf. LXXIX 4979 3 n. We expect *loculus* or *loculus* on the Latin side (CGL VI 652-3), but the trace seems unsuitable. Perhaps *α[λοκα]* or *α[λοκλα]* was written, as in the previous line.

21 *μυ[θουμ]* is also possible on the Latin side (CGL VI 705).

22 *χο[ι]κεῖον* *λε[ί]βραλε* (i.e. *librale*)? For the sequence, cf. Mp 329.19-21, where *μοδιος modium*

was originally followed by *χοινυχ librale*, but the second hand added *ημιμοδιος modium* (20) between them. (C xxiv.151 and xxiii.3 has *μοδιος χοινύξ*.) For *χοινύκεος* used of a measure, cf. P. Fouad 19.13 (100) *χοινύκεος*, CPR I 31.17 (153) *χοινύκε[ι]α[ο]ν* (BL I 117); P. Fouad 43.48 (189 90) *μ[ε]τρα χοινύκεα* (BL III 61). At Phil. Ind. Sto. col. 5-4, reading by LSJ s.v. 1, it is a false reading for *φοινύκεα* (T. Dorandi, *Filadelfia: Storia dei filosafti: La città da Zenone a Ptolemeo* (FHerc. 1018) (1994)). CGL II 122.56 offers instead *Librale χοινύκεα*.

col. ii

1 Lat. *truitina* (E 270.1, Mp 321.28, C xvi.71; CGL VII 371).

2 Lat. *scala* (CGL VII 237) not otherwise found in lists of furniture. The sense here will no doubt be 'ladder' rather than 'staircase.'

3 Lat. *licerna* (CGL VI 656), a common item in thematic glossaries, where it appears four times in the furniture section (M 197.55, E 270.32, Mp 322.16, C xxiv.59), though it is also found in other sections. Cf. also for this pair C. Gloss. Biling. I 12, 19, 38; II 8.4.

4 Lat. probably *pila* (CGL VII 88), as in all the parallel lists of furniture except E, where *δλωος* is the last in a long series of words glossed by *montarium* (270.8).

5 *ὑπερον* follows *άλμιος* in Mp 321.43-4, where it is glossed first as *pisabulum*, then as *pitum*; cf. C xxiv.40 *pitus ὑπερον υναικος*. In E 270.9, it is again the last in a list of Greek terms, all glossed as *pitillum*.

6 Lat. *crutum* (CGL VI 287): so all the other lists of furniture, except that the Latin has dropped out in L 1171, while E includes the entry not in the furniture section but under the heading *περὶ τῶν ἐργαλείων δε φορματίων* (263.8).

7 Cf. perhaps M 197.49 *επιστῆρον cerniculum*, E 269.61 *ἐπιδερκτρον cerniculum*, C xxiv.59-60 *cerniculum ενεκειστρον, ινεκειστρον ενεκετρον*; TLL III 863.59-67.

8 Lat. *uapulus* (CGL VII 393); cf. C xxiv.51 *uapulus λιμιος σκαφιστήριον*; E 269.6 (under the heading *περὶ τῶν ἐργαλείων δε φορματίων*), where the gloss is shared with *βραστήριον* in the previous line. The alternative interpretation 'cradle' is not suited to the context and does not seem to be paralleled in the thematic glossaries.

9 Cf. Mp 321.37-9 (Lat. *matra, magis, formenatorium*), S 366.16 (*μαγιδον μάκτρα*), C xxiv.92 *μαγι μάκτρα*.

10-11 Cf. especially Mp 321.40-41 (after the entries for *μάκτρα*): *σκαφή αἰμαται, σκαφιδον σκαφιστήριον*. In other thematic glossaries, *σκαφή* stands alone, glossed by *alimus* (A 92.25, S 366.49) or *aliumum* (L 1164, M 197.50); cf. C xxiv.52 *alimus σκαφιδον*.

12 Perhaps *εἰθελα* (= *εἰθελα*) glossed as *sporta*, a regular component of such lists of furniture (CGL VII 288). For the variation in the spelling of this word, see LSJ + Rev. Suppl. s.v. *εἰθελα*.

ft. 2

α[

μ[

ψα. [

κρ. [

5 κη. [

. . [

. [

. . .

3 4 ψα is an uncommon word-beginning (cf. CGL VII 684). The word here is likely to be ψαλιδες (Lat. *forfices*, 'scissors' (CGL VI 462)). This entry is found under the heading *περι εὐδηρίων δε ψαλιδων* in L 1310, M 204-2β, and Mp 325-45. If that is the context here, κρ. . . [ may represent κρηγύρα (Lat. *carpatium*: CGL VI 183), 'flesh-hook,' which occurs under the same heading at L 1338 and M 204-5B. Cf. C xxv (*περι ἐργαλείων*), 68 *ψαλιδ φαλίδ λαυτον, 80 σπαγο κρεάτρα.*

W. B. HENRY

## V. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

### 5164. RECEIPT FOR DELIVERY OF OIL

34 4B.72/H(1-4)c

7.5 × 15 cm

30 July 26 BC or 31 January 25 BC?

Asclepiades, the father of an overseer of the temples of the Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite nomes, acknowledges receipt of oil from Patoiphis, an oil-worker. The oil is said to 'fall to' Patoiphis for Year 4 of Augustus. In XII 1453 = Sel. Pap. II 327 (30/29 BC), four lamplighters declare on oath to two overseers of the temples of the Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite nomes that they will service the lamps and provide oil to two temples of Oxyrhynchus in Year 1. One of the lamplighters is Thonis alias Patoiphis, later simply called Patoiphis. If he is to be identified with the oil-worker named in this receipt (see below, 4 n.), and Asclepiades is acting on behalf of his son or in a similar capacity, 1453 may provide the context for the delivery mentioned in 5164. However, it is also possible that the transaction was private in nature (cf. below, 8 n.).

The back is blank.

Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁς καὶ  
 Ἀπίων ὁ πατὴρ Πτολεμαίου  
 τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τοῦ  
 Ὀξυ(μυ)χίτου καὶ Κνω(πολίτου) Πατοίφει  
 5 ἐλαιουργίᾳ χαί(ρειν). ἀπέχω  
 παρὰ σοῦ τοὺς ἐπιβάλλου(τάς)  
 σοι τοῦ τετάρτου ἔτους  
 Καίσαρος ἐλαίου κνηκίν(ου)  
 μετρῆ(τάς) δύο, (γίνονται) ἐλ(αίου) κνη(κίνου) με(ετρηται) β,  
 10 καὶ οὐδὲν σοι περὶ τούτων ἐγκαλῶ.  
 (ἔτους) . Κάϊσαρ(ος), Με( ) ἔ.  
 η β 2 πδδ 4 οξ κνθ 5 χλ 6 επιβαλλδ 8 κνηκί 9 μετρβ ι δ  
 κν μ 10 ορηθ: ο may be a correction εγκαλ\* ιι L κνηβ

'Asclepiades alias Arpion, the father of Ptolemaeus, the overseer of the temples of the Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite (nomes), to Patoiphis, oil-worker, greetings. I am in receipt from you of the two *metretai* of safflower oil that fall to you for the fourth year of Caesar, total 2 *metretai* of safflower oil, and I have no claims against you about these matters.

'Year . . . of Caesar, Mesore (or Mecheit) 5.'

1 Ἀσκληπιάδης. The name occurs also in 5165 1, a papyrus of about this date found close to 5164: could it be that both texts refer to the same person?

3 γ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τοῦ Ὁξιδ(μογγίτου) καὶ Κων(πολίτου). Cf. XII 1453 13–14 τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν κτλ., the only other attestation of this title for these nomes. In 1453 13 n. it is suggested that it is 'a variant for ἐπιστάτης τῶν ἱερῶν', a function attested in the Ptolemaic period (see P. Gen. III 135 introd.), P. Parameuse 7.6–9 n.).

4 Πανώλει. For the name, see LXXI 4822 9 n. In view of its rarity, it is worth considering the possibility that this person is to be identified with the Patoiphis attested in 1453, who is called Thonis alias Patoiphis when described as a lamp-bearer of the temple of Sarapis and Isis (n. 3), but simply Patoiphis when mentioned as the father of another lamp-bearer (γ). It is conceivable that an *ελαουργός* could serve as a *λυγούργης*, a function that required the provision of oil. P. IFAO I 13.29 (13 80), in which a man named Patoiphis subscribes to a marriage contract, may refer to the same person.

8 *ὄλαλοι κρηπί(σων)*. See D. B. Sandt, *The Production and Use of Vegetable Oils in Ptolemaic Egypt* (1989) 83–7, 116–18. If the oil was used for lamp-lighting, it should be noted that there appears to be no evidence in the papyri for such a use of safflower oil; see M. Mossakowska, *ZP* 24 (1994) 109–31.

9 *μετρητάς*. These will have been Attic *metretai*, whose capacity was 39.1 litres; see N. Krut, *K. A. Worp, APF* 45 (1999) 102.

11 (ἔτους) Καίσαρος Με( ) 7. The year figure ought to be δ or ε, since the oil is supplied on account of Year 4. Neither letter can be confirmed, though δ would be more difficult to fit in the space. There is also no palaeographical basis for deciding between *Me(corn)* and *Me(xiv)*. Mesore is the last month of the year, and it is possible that the oil for Year 4 was delivered at the end of the year, in which case the date Mesore 5, Year 4, would correspond to 30 July 26 BC. Compare 1453, where the period for the maintenance of lamps and supply of oil to temples at Oxyrhynchus runs from Thoth 1 to Mesore 7 (see BL VIII 246) of Year 1 of Augustus (= 30/29 BC). (Whether Mesore 5 fell at the very end of the year need not concern us here; on the dating system used at the time, see C. Bennett, *ZPE* 142 (2005) 221–40, esp. 230; for a different view, see E. Grzybek in Y. Perrin (ed.), *Novima VII: Rome, l'Italie et la Grèce* (2007) 145–57, with Bennett's response at [http://www.tyndaholibrary.com/Egypt/ptolemies/chron/roman/chron\\_roman\\_anl\\_frame\\_006.htm](http://www.tyndaholibrary.com/Egypt/ptolemies/chron/roman/chron_roman_anl_frame_006.htm).) The other possible date is Mecheir 5, Year 5, which converts to 31 January 25 BC.

L. CAPPONI

## 5165. ORDER TO A BANKER

34 4B.74/D(1–2)b

9.8 × 9.8 cm

27 January 24 BC

Micalus, the agent of a certain Asclepiades, orders the banker Apollonphanes to pay three hundred silver drachmas to Myrmex. The reason for the payment is not specified.

This is the earliest order to pay of the Roman period addressed to a banker. In terms of format and wording it is comparable to a group of Heracleopolite bank orders of 87–82 BC, namely BGU XIV 2401–16, 2416A, and especially SB XIV 11309–28. The paucity of information given may indicate that it is not itself a cheque but rather an instruction to a banker to honour a cheque that has been issued; see R. Bogaert, *AncSoc* 31 (2001) 209–11.

The writing runs along the fibres. There are several traces on the back, perhaps the remains of a docket.

Μίκκαλος να. ὁ πα[ρ] Ἀ[σκληπιάδῃ] Ἀπολλο-  
φάνει τραπέζι(τη) χαίρειν. χρημάτιον Μύρμηκι  
ἀφ' ὃς ἔχεις μου ἐπιστάματος ἀργυρίου τρακ(όσιας),  
(γίνοντα) (δραχμῶν) τ. (ἔτους) 5 Καίσαρος, Μεχεῖρ β̄.

2 τραπέζι χ̄ χρ̄ 300 ἀργ. ματικον 3 τριαξ 4 | 5 L

Micalus, the agent of Asclepiades, to Apollonphanes, banker, greetings. Pay to Myrmex, from the instruction of mine that you have, three hundred (drachmas) of silver, total 300 dr. Year 6 of Caesar, Mecheir 2.

1 ὁ πα[ρ] Ἀ[σκληπιάδῃ]. The use of the dative instead of the genitive in this construction is only sporadic; see Mayser, *Grammatik* ii.2 370.

A banker called Asclepiades is attested in IV 806 = SB XIV 11884 (42 or 20 BC). This may then be a note sent by (the agent of) one banker to another; on collaboration between banks, which may have required bankers to hold accounts with other bankers, see Bogaert, *Traversées Asyriennes* 102, 250–52. On Asclepiades see also 5164 1 n.

1–2 Ἀπολλοφάνει τραπέζι(τη). This is no doubt the Apollonphanes named at 5166 1, who was to receive the tax on the sale of a slave. He is not given a title in 5166, but the inventory numbers of 5165 and 5166 indicate that the two papyri were found close together, and the name has not occurred in any other Oxyrhynchite documents of this date.

Apollonphanes was probably a private banker, in which case this would be the earliest reference to a private bank in Roman Egypt; see Bogaert, *ZPE* 109 (1999) 153. A private bank in Oxyrhynchus is attested as early as 73 or 44 BC (XIV 1639).

2 Μύρμηκι. This name is otherwise attested in the papyri only in the Zenon archive, though see N. Gonis, *CE* 75 (2000) 130.

3 ἀφ' ὃς ἔχεις μου ἐπιστάματος. This expression is novel, but recalls formulas found in orders for transfer of credit in grain, especially XLIX 3486 2–4 (41/2?) *διάτελλον ἀφ' ὃς ἔχεις μου μετρήματος* (more often, *ἔχεις μου ἐν θέματι*). *μέτρημα* there refers to the result of the action of 'measuring in' or depositing grain, and hence to the deposit itself. It corresponds to *ἐπιστάμα* here. This is one of the terms used for orders for payment addressed to bankers in the Roman period, though we do not have any such examples from before the second century; see Bogaert, *Traversées Asyriennes* 238, 240–43 (= *AncSoc* 6 (1975) 100, 103–6). This *ἐπιστάμα* is said to be with Apollonphanes (*ἔχεις*), and the payment to Myrmex is to be taken from the *ἐπιστάμα*. The *ἐπιστάμα* in question may be a cheque given to Apollonphanes to cover (at least) the amount due to Myrmex. Bogaert notes that 'the deposit from which the payment is to be made is mentioned only once in the Roman orders': P. Fay 100.14–15 (99) (*χρημάτιον* . . .) *ἀς ἔχεις μου ἐν θέματι ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν κη*.

L. CAPPONI

## 5166. INSTRUCTION TO RECEIVE TAX ON SALE OF SLAVE

34 4B.73/H(3–5)a

10.4 × 14.5 cm

C.308 BC  
Plates VIII IX

Mnesitheus, possibly a tax-farmer, instructs Apollonphanes, probably the banker of 5165, to receive from Philiscus son of Tryphon, a Macedonian *ἐπιπάρχη*



ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν (see 3 n.), the tax on the sale of Thermuthion, a runaway slave whom Philiscus had bought from Lucius Rutilius Philomusus. On the back a second hand wrote two lines concerning a payment of twelve drachmas to a certain Nicolaus, probably a clerk in the bank. The persons involved are not given any titles, perhaps an indication that this is a piece of internal correspondence. The date is damaged, but the hand and prosopography (see 1 n.) point to the late first century BC.

In its structure 5166 resembles two later documents. In I 185 = SB XX 14395 (181), two contractors for the tax on sales (ἐγκρίκλιον) write to the public bankers of Oxyrhynchus ordering them to receive from a woman the τέλοσ(ο) δούλ(ων) on a female slave and her son, bought through the office of the agoranomos. Cf. also I 96 (180). On this type of document, see A. Martin and J. Straus, *CE* 64 (1989) 254–5.

5166 offers a clear indication that the tax on the sale of the slave was just under 20% of the sale price; see further 8 n.

The text of the letter is written along the fibres.

Μνησίθεος Ἀπολλοφάνει χαιρεῖν.  
 δέξαι παρὰ Φιλίσκου τοῦ Τρίφωνα  
 Μακεδόνα ἰππάρχου ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν  
 5 τέλοσ δούλης Θερμουθίου ὡς (ἐταῶν) λ  
 οὔτης ἐν δραμῶν, ἦν ἀναζητήσασ  
 ὁ Φιλ[ ]σκος ἐαυτοῦ ἀνάξει, ἥς ἐπρία(το)  
 παρὰ Λουκίου Ρουτίλιου Φιλομούσου  
 γαλκοῦ (ταλάντων) ι Γ, χ[ι(ακοῦ) π]ρίος ἀργ(ύριου) (τάλαντα) β χρογ γ δ'.  
 (ιπασ) ἔρρω[co]. (ἔτους) [ ε5 ] ικ—

Back, across the fibres:

10 (m.2) Νικολάω· σοὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλοσ  
 παρέξι (δραχμάσ) δεκαθῶ, (γίνονται) (δραχμαῖ) ιβ.

4, 9 L 6 ης corr. from ηε επρ\* 7 λ Ρουτίλιου 8 π (βί) ἀρρ  
 11 5 (βί) /

<sup>10</sup> Mnesitheos to Apollonphanes, greetings. Receive from Philiscus the son of Tryphon, a Macedonian, cavalry-commander over men, the tax on the slave Thermuthion, about 30 years old, a runaway, whom Philiscus will track down and bring back for himself, whom he purchased from Lucius Rutilius Philomusus for 10 talents 3,000 (drachmas) in bronze, 2 talents 693 (drachmas) 3/4 (obols) in bronze (converted) to silver.

<sup>11</sup> Farewell. Year . . .  
 Back: (2nd hand) 'To Nicolaus; . . . will pay you twelve drachmas out of the tax (money), total 12 dr.'

<sup>1</sup> Μνησίθεος. Nearly all occurrences of this name in papyri are from Oxyrhynchus. In XX 2277 17 (13) we find a landholder of this name; cf. also II 296 5. A Mnesitheus features in the

documents from the archive of Comon (XXXVIII 2834–46) as the husband of Aline, daughter of Comon 1 and mother of Comon π; that Mnesitheus died in 50 (2837).

<sup>2</sup> Ἀπολλοφάνει. Presumably to be identified with the banker of this name in 5165 1 2 (94 BC).  
<sup>3</sup> Μακεδόνασ. For a list of early Roman references to 'Macedonians', see O. Montevaccchi, *Pap. Congr. XXI* (1997) 724 n. 23 = *Scripta selecta* (1998) 398 n. 23. Cf. 5168 3.

<sup>4</sup> ἰππάρχου ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν. The title originally indicated a type of officer in the Ptolemaic army, but survived into the first century AD. Its exact meaning is difficult to establish. In II 277 (10 BC) a landholder and his tenant describe themselves as Macedonians and ἰππάρχου ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν. Grenfell and Hunt thought that this was an honorary title that descended from the Ptolemaic period and indicated cavalry officers who were not in active service. E. van't Dack, *ZPE* 19 (1988) 84, suggested that the title indicated cavalry officers of the Ptolemaic army who were in office after 53 BC and survived for a decade or so after the Roman conquest. It is possible that some cavalry contingents of Macedonians were still used in Augustan Egypt as the *auxilia* of the Roman army. A different interpretation was put forward by B. E. Nielsen and K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 136 (2001) 135–6 = P NYU II 16.4–5 n., who articulated ἰππάρχου ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν καλοῦσιν ἰππότεσ, makes this less likely. Besides, P. W. Pestman, in P. Tor. Choch. p. 123 n. 3, suggests an equivalence with inverse word-order between the Greek *commander* + ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν and the Demotic *soldier* + ἐπ ἰππ. ω n ('one of the men of') + *commander*, which would make ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν a technical term, used to designate the eponymous commander.

<sup>4</sup> τέλοσ δούλης. This must be the tax on sales (ἐγκρίκλιον) that was levied under both Ptolemaic and Roman rule as a percentage of the market price; see P. Coll. Youite II 126 introd., and Straus, *LChet* 71–7, esp. 72–5, where the various ways in which this tax is referred to in connection with slave sales are listed and discussed. Other occurrences of the phrase τέλοσ δούλοσ for the sales tax are listed in Straus, *LChet* 74 n. 265.

<sup>4–6</sup> On runaway slaves in Graeco-Roman Egypt, see LI 3616 introd.; Y. Rivière, 'Recherche et identification des esclaves fugitifs dans l'Empire romain', in J. Andreau and C. Virlouvet (edd.), *L'Information et la mer dans le monde antique* (2002) 117, 150–52, 166–78, 182–3.

<sup>7</sup> Λουκίου Ρουτίλιου Φιλομούσου. A certain Philomusus is expected to come from Alexandria to Oxyrhynchus on a business trip in XII 1479 8, assigned to the late first century BC. In the early first century AD, the bronze tablet SB I 4226 refers to the estate of Agrippina the elder and Rutilius, which was probably acquired later by a Julio-Claudian emperor; see G. M. Parassoglou, *Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt* (1978) 18 and n. 23. The spelling Ρουτίλιου is attested in O. Claud. I 156.5 (π); the note ad loc. refers to further instances of the name in two unpublished ostraca with lists of soldiers. Cf. T. Eckinger, *Die Orthographie lateinischer Wörter in griechischen Inschriften* (1892) 63.

<sup>8</sup> γαλκοῦ (ταλάντων) ι Γ. This is the nominal price at which the slave was bought: 10 talents 3,000 drachmas represent a fossilized sum and not necessarily the actual amount paid; see P. Col. VIII 222 introd., and A. Bensissa, *ZPE* 177 (2011) 235–6. This document and the agoranomic notices III 581 (ed. *ZPE* 170 (2002) 178–9), LXXV 5051, and LXXVIII 5176 are unique in not citing a silver price, though the sale document itself would have mentioned it.

<sup>9</sup> χ(ι(ακοῦ) π]ρίος ἀργ(ύριου) (τάλαντα) β χρογ γ δ'. Cf. 5176 fr. 2.9–10. This sum is the τέλοσ to be received by Apollonphanes. For similar cases in which the sum of the *σησίθησ* is preceded by γαλκοῦ πρίος ἀργ(ύριου), cf. II 323 12–13 (ed. *ZPE* 170 (2002) 178), 242 34, and 243 47–9. Dr. Benissa observes that the tax is c.20% of the price, not 10% as has sometimes been assumed on the analogy of the rate on other sales (rightly questioned by S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (1938) 230, and Straus, *LChet* 76–7). For examples of 20% sales tax on slaves from the early Ptolemaic period, see C. Ptol. Sklav. I 5 (198/197 BC) and 9 (197 BC), and p. 62. The phrase γαλκοῦ πρίος ἀργ(ύριου), 'bronze against silver', indicates that the tax payment was in bronze coinage (including the conversion fee; Maresch, *Bronze und Silber* 93–5).

9 The year figure is lost. The last two letters seem to be  $\epsilon$  and  $\kappa$ . The day is thus likely to be the twentieth, and the month name probably ended with  $\iota$ : either  $\Pi\alpha\upsilon\sigma\iota$  or  $\Phi\alpha\omicron\phi\iota$  would fit the space.

10  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\theta$  τοῦ τέλοσ. The mention of τέλοσ without further specification and with the article suggests that this is a note to be understood with reference to the text on the front.

11 Read  $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\{\iota\}$ ,  $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\{\iota\}$ , or  $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\{\iota\}$ , depending on who the payer would be: the staff of the bank or Phileas.

( $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\acute{\mu}\alpha\tau$ )  $\xi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$ . If the sum of 10 talents 3,000 bronze drachmas is equivalent to 600–900 silver drachmas, as is usual in slave sales and manumissions (see P. Col. VIII 222 introd.; Marsch, *Bronze und Silber* 116), 12 drachmas was 1.33–2% of the price of the slave—if to tal. 4,000 dr is a real amount, actually paid. It is possible that this referred to one of the many taxes on sales, such as  $\pi\epsilon\tau\text{-}\tau\eta\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau$  (2%),  $\kappa\epsilon\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau$  (1%),  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$   $\delta\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau$ , or  $\delta\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau$  *in vivo*; see Wallace, *Taxation* 224–32, 270, 303. On the other hand, if the 12 drachmas derive from the tax on the sale (see above, 10 n.), this sum would be 6.5–10% of the tax amount. We have considered whether it is a conversion fee, but this percentage is not attested for the *enklytion*; see Marsch, *Bronze und Silber* 214.

L. CAPPONI

## 5167. RECEIPT FOR PIG-TAX

102/123(c)

73 × 8.8 cm

12 March 20 BC  
Plate IV

This receipt offers the earliest reference to the pig-tax ( $\delta\iota\kappa\eta$ ) in the Roman period (see L. Capponi, *Augustan Egypt* (2005) 151, where this text is mentioned), as well as the earliest attestation of an urban district ( $\tau\epsilon\mu\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\theta\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ ) in an administrative context. The Roman pig-tax was one of the capitation taxes (including poll- and dike-tax; see 5172 3 n.) newly introduced to Egypt; the division of an Egyptian metropolis into administrative districts only appeared after the Roman conquest (see J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchus in der Kaiserzeit* (1990) 77–80; S. Daris, *ZPE* 132 (2000) 211 n. 4). The fact that both novelties are attested here for the early Augustan period seems to support the suggestion that there is an institutional correlation between them; see R. Alston, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (2002) 138–9, who relies on the evidence of poll-tax and the discussion in A. K. Bowman and D. W. Rathbone, *JRS* 82 (1992) 112–13, 120. In Oxyrhynchus at the very beginning of Roman rule, a new way of registering the urban population by residence in different quarters is likely to have been required for a rational imposition of the new capitation taxes. The same association of urban subdivision and taxation by person is found in contemporary ostraca from Coptus, mostly poll-tax receipts; see O. Leid, pp. 74–5.

The amount paid is 2 drachmas; see 3 n. The payment is counted for the district of Temgenouthis, presumably the registered place of residence of the taxpayer. Except for II 313 descr. (= SB X 10242), 389 descr., and XII 1518, where no names of districts have been read, all published papyri from Oxyrhynchus recording payments for pig-tax refer to city districts. 5167 and LXXV 5053 (149) are the

only receipts that do not combine the pig-tax with other taxes. For the pig-tax in general and a list of Oxyrhynchite receipts attesting it, see 5053 introd.

The formula used in 5167 is noteworthy in that it places the date at the end instead of the beginning of the text. This is not paralleled by any other receipt for capitation taxes from Oxyrhynchus, but is common e.g. in ostraca from Upper Egypt.

The writing runs along the fibres. The back is blank.

διαγέγρα(φεν) Ἀφνυχῆ  
ναγνικός δίκης  
Τεμ(γενοῦθεω) δύο το. ( ) . ( ) Τεμ(γενοῦθεω)ς.  
(να) (έτου) ε Καίσαρος, Φαμ(ενουθ) ἱε.

1 διαγέγρ 3  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}$  17.  $\tau\eta$ .  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}$  4 L  $\phi\mu$

Aphnchis, sailor, has paid for pig-tax for Temgenouthis two (drachmas) . . . of Temgenouthis. Year 10 of Caesar, Phamenoth 16.<sup>1</sup>

1–2 Ἀφνυχῆ ναγνικός. Previously unknown.

3 Τεμ(γενοῦθεω). Mu is raised and simplified into a downward-turned arc. The abbreviation can be compared with CPR V 1.4 (= Taf. 1); see also note ad loc. The alternative reading  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\{\nu\alpha\}$  would entail an abnormal word order. On this district of Oxyrhynchus, see S. Daris, *ZPE* 132 (2000) 220–21 = *Disc. geogr. Suppl.* III 102, 147, Suppl. IV 99, 129. The second earliest mention of the district of Temgenouthis comes in II 253 3 (19).

This is the earliest reference to an urban district in Oxyrhynchus and the Egyptian *chora* in general, predating Ἐρμαιοῦν in 5172 3 and the district Φωνικῶνος Φρόριου of Coptus in O. Leid. 170 (14 BC).

$\delta\iota\kappa\alpha$ , sc.  $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\acute{\mu}\alpha\tau$ . This is presumably the annual amount due for pig-tax. The same rate is probably attested in III 574 4 (II): inspection of the original suggests reading ( $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\eta$ ) α ( $\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\rho}\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ ) ( $\eta\mu\alpha\beta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ ),  $\pi\alpha\rho\theta\{\sigma\alpha\rho\phi\alpha\rho\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega$ ) ( $\delta\beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ ) ( $\eta\mu\alpha\beta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ ) (the second ( $\eta\mu\alpha\beta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ ) not in the first edition). Two other rates are known for Oxyrhynchus in the first century AD: 2 dr. 1/4 ob., recorded in II 313 = SB X 10242 (47), 308 = SB X 10243 (50), 289 (83), P. Oxy. Heb. 12 (99). The latter amount may also occur in XII 1520 7 (102): as already suspected by S. L. Wallace, *Taxation* (1938) 145, a photograph indicates that it is possible to read ( $\delta\rho$ )  $\mu\iota\alpha\upsilon$  ( $\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\rho}\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ ?) [ $\eta\mu\alpha\beta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ ], ( $\gamma\iota\sigma\iota\omega\tau\alpha$ ) α ( $\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\rho}\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ ) ( $\eta\mu\alpha\beta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ ) instead of the original editors' ( $\delta\rho$ )  $\mu\iota\alpha\upsilon$  ( $\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\rho}\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ ?), ( $\gamma\iota\sigma\iota\omega\tau\alpha$ ) α ( $\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\rho}\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ ). From the reign of Hadrian onwards, the rate of 1 dr. 5/4 ob. occurs in P. NYU II 4 (131/7), IV 733 (147) and LXXV 5053 (149; cf. 4 n.), with a minor variation of 1 dr. 5/4 ob. 1–2 ch. in SB I 5677 = XXIV 15968 (202) (in line 18, read  $\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\rho}\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ ) instead of ( $\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\rho}\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ ). Although these variable amounts stand in contrast to the stable rate for pig-tax in the Arsinoite nome (see Wallace, *Taxation* 144–5, 328; P. Col. V pp. 301–2), they need not imply that the Oxyrhynchite pig-tax was not a capitation tax; they may be due to tariff fluctuation over time. Furthermore, as the first three amounts mentioned (2 dr. 2 dr. 1/4 ob.; 1 dr. 4/4 ob.) present a ratio of 8:9:7, it is tempting to see in them some arithmetic involving supplementary payments (implicit or explicit as in 574 4, depending on scribal practice, and to take 1 dr. 4/4 ob. as the base rate.

το. ( ). The year for which the payment was counted is expected here, but this cannot be read.

I have not found a satisfactory reading. If the right-turned curve after omicron is part of an ill-formed kappa, we may read  $\tau\omega\phi(\acute{\alpha}\delta\omega\omega)$  (not  $\tau\omega\phi(\acute{\alpha}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\alpha)$ , a capitulation tax typical of the Menedesian nome; see P. Thonous I pp. 38–9, implying  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho$  and meaning 'for breeding sows'). This would indicate that the Roman pig-tax still referred in some way to pig-rearing; see Wallace, *Taxation* 145, Capponi, *Augustan Egypt* 151–2, and 5053 introd. However, the only attestation of breeding sows in a fiscal context comes from the early Ptolemaic period, viz. SB III 7202.32–3 (227 BC).

(.)  $\tau\epsilon\mu(\gamma\epsilon\omega\sigma\theta\epsilon\omega\varsigma)$ . The two unread letters stand one above the other, and resemble two curves pointing to each other. The letter at the top may be kappa or, less likely, upsilon or alpha. The letter under it may be epsilon, while lambda and rho cannot be excluded. One possibility is  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon$ , but it does not make good sense here. I have also considered  $\lambda\alpha(\acute{\beta}\rho\alpha\varsigma)$  and  $\acute{\theta}\acute{\rho}(\mu\alpha\tau)$ . The rho may seem too short and slanted when compared to those in lines 1 and 4, but the form can be accounted for by its initial position and the fact that there is an abbreviation.  $\tau\epsilon\mu(\gamma\epsilon\omega\sigma\theta\epsilon\omega\varsigma)$  is coupled with  $\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon\omega\alpha$  in SB XXIV 16186.3–4 (70), but not found elsewhere with  $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\eta\eta$ . The collocation  $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\eta\eta$   $\tau\epsilon\mu(\gamma\epsilon\omega\sigma\theta\epsilon\omega\varsigma)$  would not, however, be implausible; cf. SB XXIV 16011.7 (11/12?)  $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\eta\eta$   $\mu\epsilon\mu\beta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\omega\alpha\omega\alpha$  (known otherwise as an  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\omega\delta\omega\alpha$ ), with R. Duttenhöfer, *EASP* 34 (1997) 59, and Daris, *ZPE* 132 (2000) 211 and n. 3. In any case, it is not clear why the name of the district is repeated, nor why, after mentioning it for the first time, the scribe described the district as  $\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon\omega\alpha$  or  $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\eta\eta$ , if this can be read.

R.-L. CHANG

## 5168–5170. COLLECTION OF DOCUMENTS

29.4B.63/C(12)a

25.5 × 15.9 cm

Three sheets of papyrus, each containing a separate document, assembled in a τόμος συγκολλημένος. The lower parts are missing. Only the second document retains both left and right margins, with a sheet-join in the middle. The first two documents seem to have been written by the same scribe on the same day. It is not clear why they were joined with the third document (5170), which is of a very different kind. τόμοι συγκολλημένοι containing documents of different types are uncommon: see W. Clarysse in M. Brosius (ed.), *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions* (2003) 344–59, at 355. A parallel for the combination of 5168 and 5169 is given by BGU IV 1153 (14 BC), which consists of a nursing contract and a document relating to παραμονή.

The writing runs along the fibres in all three documents. The back is blank except for some traces of ink.

## 5168. WET-NURSE CONTRACT

29.4B.63/C(12)a, col. i

10 October 18(?) BC

Apollonia agrees to become wet-nurse to a foundling whom Sarapion, a 'Macedonian', had collected from a dung heap and probably intended to keep or sell as a slave. Wet-nurse contracts are discussed and re-edited by M. Manca Masciadri and O. Montevecchi in C. Pap. Gr. I; cf. also Z. Tawfik, *Pap. Congr. XXI* (1997)

939–53, and J. Bingen, *CE* 81 (2006) 208–11. See in general on wet-nurses C. Laes, *Children in the Roman Empire* (2011) 69–77. To judge by certain supplements (e.g. at 5, 7–9), the original line-length was approximately 12 cm.

ἔτος τρεκαίδεκάτου(?) Καίσαρος, Φω[φ]ι τβ, (νασ) ἐν Ώξυρύγχων πόλει.  
ὀμολογεῖ Ἀπολλωνία εβ δ' ἴωρου Περσειῆ μετὰ κυρίου  
τοῦ ἐαυτῆς πατρὸς Σαραπίων[ι] Διδύμου Μακεδόνη παρε-  
ληθέντα παρ' αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀνήρηνται ὁ Σαραπίων ἀπὸ κοπιρίας ἄρσενι-  
κὸν κομιτῶν ἢ ἐπέθηκεν ὄνομα Ἐρωσ, ὁ καὶ ἐπάναγκον θηλά-  
σει καὶ θρεφεῖ τῷ ἴδιῳ αὐτῆς γάλα[α]κτι καὶ τυθήσει ἐπὶ χρό-  
νον μῆνας δεκάτῳ ἢ ὡς τῆς ἐφεξῆς ἡμέρας λαμ-  
βάνουσα παρὰ τοῦ Σ[α]ραπίωνος κατὰ μῆνα εἰς τὰ τροφήα καὶ  
ἵματιμὸν καὶ τῆ]ν ἄλλην δαπάνην πᾶσαν ἀργυρίου δρα-  
χμῆς ὀκτώ(?), καὶ ἀπέχ[σει]ν τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν παρὰ τοῦ Σαραπί-  
ωνος τῶν πρώτων μ[η]νῶν τριῶν ἀργυρίου δραχμῆς εἰκοσι  
καὶ τέσσαρα(?). τοῦτων δ' ἐ πληρωθῆτων χορηγήσει τὸν  
Σαραπίωνα τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ [κατ]ὰ [μ]η[ν]α τὸν [ἐ]ξ[ε]ταμένον α-  
ε9 , μὴ οὐσ[ει] τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ ἐξουσίας προσκρί-  
πτει τῷ Σαραπί[ω]νι τ]ὸν παῖδα μέχρι τοῦ τοῦ δεκαεκτῶ μ[η]-  
νας πληρωθῆναι, τῇ δ' Ἀπολλωνίᾳ μ[η]δ' ἀδροκοιτήσιν ἐπι  
εβ πρὸς τὸ μὴ διαββαρῆσαι τὸ ἐατῆς γάλα. τὴν δὲ  
πᾶσαν προστ[ρα]σίαν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν ποιήσθω καὶ μετὰ  
τὸν χρόνον παραδότη[ν] αὐτῷ τεθραμμένον καὶ τρεπυχότα  
20 ε17 εἰς μ[η]σ τὶ πάθῃ ἀνθρώπινον, ὁ καὶ  
συμφανῆς ε9 καταστ[η]σει. γενομένου δὲ τινος  
ε25 ὄνου, ἐπάναγκον ἔτε-  
ρον ε21 π]αρὰ τοῦ Σαραπίωνος  
ε24 ε]ξ τούτων δεκαεκτῶ μ[η]-  
25 νασ ε21 ἐὰν(?) δὲ ἢ ἄστ[ρο]λλ[ω]φι[α] μ[η]  
]. . . .

2 l. Περσίη 8 l. τροφεία 12 θρεπτων corr. from θρεπτων 1 χορηγήσει  
13 του corr. from του? 14 απ οστ. 14–15 l. προσκρίστων 16 l. ἀδροκοιτήσει  
17 l. ἐαυτῆς 18 l. ἐπιμέλειαν ποιήσειω 19 τεθθ- corr. from θεθθ-

'Year thirteen(?) of Caesar, Phaophi 12, in the city of Oxyrhynchus. Apollonia daughter of —dorus, Persian, having her own father with her as guardian, acknowledges to Sarapion son of Didymus, a Macedonian, that she has received from him the male child whom Sarapion has pulled out from a dungheap, to whom he gave the name Eros, whom she will perform breast-feed and nourish with her own milk and tend as his nurse for a period of eighteen months counting from the present

day, receiving monthly from Sarapion eight(?) silver drachmas for fostering and clothing and all the other expenses; and that Apollonia is in receipt of twenty-four(?) silver drachmas from Sarapion for the first three months, and that when these (months) have been completed, Sarapion will provide Apollonia each month with the agreed (wage), with Apollonia not being permitted to hand the baby over to Sarapion until the eighteen months have been completed, nor to have a male bod-mate . . . , so that her milk is not spoilt. Let her give all attention and care, and after the period (of the contract), let her hand (the child) over to him nursed and fully cared for(?), unless it suffers some mortal event, which she shall make clear(?). If something . . . happens . . . , of necessity . . . another . . . from Sarapion . . . the eighteen months . . . If Apollonia does not . . .

1 The day of the month is the same as in 5169, hence the supplement *ἔτους τρισεκαίδεκάτου*, though it seems slightly too long for the space.

3 [τῷ *ἑαυτῆς πατρὶ*]. If Apollonia's guardian were her husband or other relative, his name would be given, but there is no room for it unless *ἑαυτῆς* is omitted. The name of her father has already been given in 2, and there is no need to repeat it here.

Καρπίων] Διδύμου. A Sarapion son of Didymus is found at 5171 20–21 (6 BC), but both names are common.

Μακρόβη. Cf. 5166 3 n.

Before *παρε[λήφεται]*, we expect *ἐν ἑαυτῇ*. Cf. the omission of *τῆς* Θηβαῖος in 2.

7 *μήνας δεκαοκτ[ά]*. Cf. 15–16, 24. The term of service of eighteen months is in line with those known from other documents; see e.g. C. Pap. Gr. I 5,8 (Alex., 15 BC).

10 For the monthly salary, see 11–12 n.

11–12 There is not enough room for *διὰ χειρὸς ἑξ ὀκτώων*. Three months' salary being 24 drachmas, Apollonia was paid 8 drachmas a month (10).

12 *πληρωθήτων*. After the rho, there is an unfinished omega, followed by a space about 0.5 cm wide left blank (perhaps due to the unevenness of the surface) and then a fresh omega.

13–14 *ἀπ[ό]στακτον μεθόν*, as conjecturally supplied in C. Pap. Gr. I 16.10, would be unparalleled and too long if the supplement printed at 14 is correct.

14 Cf. for the genitive absolute C. Pap. Gr. I 31.19–20 *μη* ὄσκει τῇ Ἥρῳ ἑξουσίας [ . . . -δ]ῆται τοῖς γενεῖσι τὸ παιδίον μηδὲ παρα[. Both parts, C. Pap. Gr. I 24.7) and ἀπαρρίπτειν (C. Pap. Gr. I 28.18, 24.7)) are found in such phrases, and it is not certain which is to be preferred at C. Pap. Gr. I 29.3, 31.19–20.

16 3 *πληρωθήτων*. Cf. II 275 = W. Chr. 324 = Sel. Pap. I 15.24–5 (66); XIV 1641 8 (68) *μέχρι τοῦ τῶν χρόνων πληρωθήναι*.

For τῇ δ' Ἠπολλωνίῳ *μηδ'* we expect simply *μηδ'* (cf. C. Pap. Gr. I 28.19 *μηδὲ παραθηλάσει*). Apparently the scribe has inserted τῇ δ' Ἠπολλωνίῳ for the sake of clarity (cf. τὴν Ἠπολλωνίαν at 10).

*μηδ' ἀδροκοιτῆς ἐπι. μηδ' ἀδροκοιτῶσαν μηδ' ἐμικνούσαν* is a standard pair; cf. also C. Pap. Gr. I 14.18–19 *καὶ [μη] ἀδροκοιτῆν πρὸς τὸ μη διαφθάρθαι [τὸ γάλα μηδὲ ἐπι]κνεῖν*. If we restore *ἐπι[κνεῖς]αῖ*, it will be necessary to assume that *μηδ'* has dropped out between the infinitives.

The future infinitive here provides an interesting parallel to C. Pap. Gr. I 26.26 (110) *μη ἀδροκοιτῆς*, but the construction there is uncertain and apparently confused; for discussion, see J. Bingen, *CE 81* (2006) 215–17.

18 *πέσαν παρα[λή]φεται* is paralleled by C. Pap. Gr. I 14.17, but seems short for the space.

20 At the start, *ὄσκει ἐπιμελέας* alone (cf. C. Pap. Gr. I 35.20, 36.30) may be a little too short: perhaps it had the article, as in the similar phrase above (17–18).

20–21 C. Pap. Gr. I 14.21 *ἐὰν μη* τὴ *πάθῃ ἀνθρώπων*, *ὁ* *καὶ* *συνε[φ]α[ί] γέν[η]ται* gives the general sense expected. Here we may have had, e.g., *ὁ* *καὶ* *συνε[φ]α[ί] ἐπι[σ]τακτον καταστ[ί]ξει*; cf. P. Köln III 147.5 7 (Augustan) *πλὴν ἐὰν μη* τὴ *βλασὸν ἐκ θεοῦ γ[έ]νηται* . . . *ὁ* *καὶ* *[ε]πιμ[η]νῆς καταστ[ί]ξει*.

(In the light of that passage, the *ἐὰν μη* clause in both wet-nurse contracts are to be taken with what precedes: the wet-nurse must return her charge unless she can prove that it has died.)

21–2 *γενόμενον δὲ τῷ παιδίῳ* probably refers to an eventuality such as that implied in *ἐὰν μη* 71 *πέθῃ ἀνθρώπων*. The clause may have ended with *ἐπὶ τοῦ χυλίου* in 22. Cf. SPP XXII 36.14, 145) *ἐὰν δὲ πάθῃ [τὴ] ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τοῦ χυλίου*, *ἀπ[ό]ναυγος* etc. See further 22–5 n.

22–5 This clause specifies what should happen if Kros dies: *ἐπ[ὶ] τῷ* (22) was probably followed by *μαδίον* or *μαῖδα* (cf. 15). The phrase *ἢ παρὸς τοῦ Καρπίωνος*, not paralleled in this context, may suggest that Apollonia will have to accept a substitute 'from Sarapion' (cf. C. Pap. Gr. I 14.21–5); in other cases, it was the wet-nurse herself who had to find a replacement (cf. C. Pap. Gr. I 4.19–26, 5.20–26, 9.11a–12a).

25 *ἐπι* τοῖς *πρακευμένους* would fit the space available after *μη*[ ]*τας*; cf. C. Pap. Gr. I 14.23–4. *ἐὰν[?]* *δὲ* *γ[έ]νηται* *μη* may have been followed in the next line by *βούληται* *τοῦτο* *ποιῆσαι*; cf. C. Pap. Gr. I 14.24.

## 6169. REPAYMENT OF LOAN

29 4B.69/C(12)a, col. ii

10 October 18 BC

Arsinoe acknowledges the return of money that she had lent to Petosiris and his two sons, both named Herceus. She had made the loan on condition that Petosiris' daughter, Senerecus, serve her for two years. The document is not complete: of the subscription, only the subscriber's name, *Ἄρσινω*, survives.

On contracts involving *paramone*, see W. L. Westermann, *JJP* 2 (1948) 9–50; B. Adams, *Paramone und verwandte Texte* (1964); A. E. Samuel, *JJP* 15 (1965) 304–5; J. Hengstl, *Private Arbeitsverhältnisse freier Personen in den hellenistischen Papyri* by Dökleitjan (1972) 9–34; A. Jördens, P. Heid. V pp. 284–95. Parallels for the vicissitudes suffered by Senerecus are found in other contracts of service, most of which probably originated from private debts. We find another *paramone* involving a daughter forced to work outside her family in order to repay a debt in BGU IV 1139 (5 BC), reedited by O. Montevecchi, *BASP* 22 (1985) 231–41 = *Scripta selecta* (1998) 345–54. BGU IV 1153 ii (14 BC) and 1154 (10 BC) are two contracts of *paramone* and repayment of apparently interest-free loans of 300 and 100 drachmas respectively. See also C. Pap. Gr. I 8 (7/6 BC), the cancellation of a contract according to which a woman called Philotera was acting as wet-nurse for her own child in order to repay a debt; BGU IV 1126 (9 BC), a contract for services in return for a loan of one hundred drachmas; PSI X 1120 (1 BC or AD), a *paramone* for one year involving a certain Heraclius (the debtor) and two creditors called Gaius and Lucius; P. Mich. V 241.24–38 (16), a contract of service in a pottery of a certain Patynis and his son Aunes, who received a loan of 40 drachmas from the owner of the pottery; P. Diog. 16 (207).

The personal names in this document show that the servant came from a native Egyptian background, while her employer belonged to the Hellenized upper class. A further point of interest is that the contract offers an early mention of the

archive (*ἀρχεῖον*) of the record office (*γραφεῖον*) of Oxyrhynchus, where the *τόμος* was probably deposited.

ἐξου[ ] τρεῖςκαθ[ ]κάτω Καί[ ]αρος, Φωαφί  $\overline{\text{B}}$ , (vac.) ἐν Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει τῆς  
 Θηβαϊδος. ὁμολογεῖ Ἀρσινόη Ἡρ[ ]ίτωνος μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἐατῆς ἀ-  
 δελφοῦ Ἀπίωνος[ ] τοῦ Ἀρίστονος Ἐρκεῖ πρεζβυτέρου Πετοσίριος  
 οἱ τρεῖς ἐν ἀνυ[ ]αί ἀπέχειν παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ νεώτερου αὐτοῦ  
 5 ἀδελφοῦ Ἐρκεῖος ἐτι δὲ καὶ [ ] τοῦ ἀμφότερων πατρὸς Πετοσίριος  
 τοῦ Βενιαίου ὄντων ἀποδήμων ἀργυρίου νομισματός δρα-  
 χμάς ἑκατὸν [ ] . . . ἀ κεφαλαίου, αἷς οὐδὲν προσήχθη, ἀς εἰ-  
 ρνεῖεν αὐτοῖς ἡ Ἀρσινόη κατὰ συγγραφὴν τὴν τελευθῆσαν  
 διὰ τοῦ ἐν Ὀξυρύγχων π[ ]όλει ἀρχῆου τοῦ γραφείου ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ  
 10 ἔτει Καίσαρος Φαμενωθ' ἐπὶ παραμονῇ τῆς τοῦ Πετοσίριος  
 θυγατρὸς τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἀδελφῆς Σενερεκῆς οὐδέποτε οὐδεὶς  
 ἐν ἡλικίᾳ ἐπ' ἔτη δύο ἀκολούθως ταῖς δι' αὐτῆς σημανθείσας  
 διαστολαίας, καὶ μηθὲν ἐγκαλεῖν μηδ' ἐγκαλέειν μηδ' ἐπελευ-  
 15 σασθαι Ἀρσινόην μηδ' ἄλλον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τοῖς προγεγραμ-  
 μένοις μ[ ]ηδὲ τοῖς παρ' αὐτῶν περὶ μηθδενὸς ἀπλούς τῶν κα-  
 τὰ τὴν δηλομένην τῆς παραμονῆς [ ] συγγραφῆν ἢ χωρὶς  
 τοῦ τὴν ἐσομένην ἐφοδὸν ἄκρον εἶναι καὶ προσαστῆναι  
 Ἀρσινόην ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐπελευσόμενον τοῖς προγεγραμ-  
 20 μένοις ἢ τοῖς παρ' αὐτῶν καθ' ἑκάστην ἐφοδὸν τὸ τε βλάβος καὶ ἐ-  
 πίτιμον ἀργυρίου δραχμάς τριακοσίας καὶ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον  
 τὰς ἑσας καὶ μηθὲν ἕξου. κυρία ἡ συγγραφῆ.

(vac.)  
 Ἀρσινόη

2 1. ἐαυτῆς	3 1. πρεζβυτέρου, some correction on β	5 1. Ἐρκεῖος	6 απο (vac.)
8 μων	8 ἀρσινοη, some correction on η, ο is squeezed in	1. τελευθῆσας	9 1. ἀρσινοη
γραφεῖον	11 1. Σενερεκῆς	13 1. ἐγκαλεῖν, ἐγκαλέσειν	13-14 1. ἐπελευσέσασθαι
17 1. προσαστῆναι			

Year thirteen of Caesar, Phaophi 12, in the city of Oxyrhynchus in the Thebaid. Arsinoe daughter of Ariston, having with her as guardian her brother Arion son of Ariston, acknowledges to Hercules the elder, son of Petosiris, the three of them in the spirit, that she is in receipt from the said (man) and from his younger brother Hercules, and, in their absence, also from their father Petosiris son of Beniaeus?, of (the sum of?) one hundred drachmas in silver currency, as principal to which nothing was added, which Arsinoe lent them in accordance with a contract concluded through the bureau of the record-office in the city of Oxyrhynchus, in the tenth year of Caesar in Phamenoth, in

consideration of the service of the daughter of Petosiris and sister of the others, (name?) Senerecus, not yet of age, for two years, in accordance with the guidelines notified through it; and that Arsinoe will bring no claim now or in the future, nor take proceedings, nor will another on her behalf, against the afore-mentioned, nor against their agents, concerning any provision whatever of the contract of service here made known; otherwise, apart from any future claim being invalid, Arsinoe or the person who will take proceedings on her behalf will also pay in addition, to the afore-mentioned or their agents, in respect of each claim, both the damages and a fine of three-hundred drachmas of silver, and an equal number to the treasury and no less. The contract is binding.

'Arsinoe . . .'

2-3  $\overline{\text{B}}$   $\overline{\text{B}}$   $\overline{\text{B}}$ . The reading is unclear. There may be faint traces at the end of line 2, making  $\overline{\text{B}}$   $\overline{\text{B}}$   $\overline{\text{B}}$  a possibility, though it would be incorrectly divided:

3 Ἐρκεῖ πρεζβυτέρου. Ἐρκεῖ is probably a variant of the common name Ἐρκεῖς, which is often spelled Ἐρκεῖος; for Oxyrhynchites called Heracles, see B. W. Jones and J. E. C. Whitehouse, *Register of Oxyrhynchite 30 B.C. - A.D. 96* (1982) 116 (nos. 2050-67). In P. Wash. Univ I 50 (Oxy.; late 1 BC), we find  $\overline{\text{B}}$  [ ] νεο[ ]  $\overline{\text{B}}$  (23) and two lines later a name beginning  $\overline{\text{B}}$ - (35).

6 τοῦ Βενιαίου. The form in the nominative is unclear. The name may be attested also in the *Arsinoite VI 918* iii 11 Βενιαί[ ]  $\overline{\text{B}}$  (genitive, restored from an entry in the unpublished col. iv). Grenfell and Hunt noted that 'Βενιάμμος is not improbable' but dismissed the possibility of a connection between this name and Βενιαίωμ, since this person's father and grandfather had an Egyptian name. It is probably not related to the Roman name Benius (one *Gaius Benius Kilius* appears in I. Koptyus 59, engraved under Domitian).

7 [ ]  $\overline{\text{B}}$ : presumably [  $\overline{\text{B}}$  ]  $\overline{\text{B}}$ , though there is no exact parallel. (There are some instances of the collocation πάν κεφαλαίων.)

κεφαλαίου, αἷς οὐδὲν προσήχθη. The aorist προσήχθη, 'was added', in the repayment corresponds to the perfect προσήκασι, 'has been added', in the formula commonly appended to the capital in loan contracts; cf. 5173 6-7 (25-6) κεφαλαίω[ ], αἷς οὐδὲν τῶν καθόλου προσέταται with π. (τῶν καθόλου is occasionally omitted.) The *parantease* clause is often found in loans apparently free of interest: in such cases, the interest was probably paid off by the obligation for service. This may have been the case in BGU IV 1153 ii (14 BC) and 1154 (10 BC). The presence of the *parantease* clause in a loan contract may also indicate that the service was the repayment for both the capital and the interest, as was suggested by A. E. Samuel, *JJP* 15 (1965) 304-5.

9 διὰ τοῦ ἐν Ὀξυρύγχων π[ ]όλει ἀρχῆου τοῦ γραφείου. This is the only passage in which ἀρχεῖον and γραφεῖον appear together. On γραφεῖα, see W. E. H. Cockle, *JEd* 70 (1984) 112; Straus, *ZLicht* 57-8. 5169 is the earliest certain reference to an ἀρχεῖον at Oxyrhynchus (the provenance of P. RyI. II 65.4 (707 BC) is uncertain). An ἀρχεῖον τῶν μνημῶνων is attested in LV 3777 13 of 57 BC.

9-10 Phamenoth, Year 10 Augustus = 25 February - 26 March 20 BC.

11 Σενερεκῆς. This name is not otherwise attested in this form, but Σενερεῖς (Te-) is familiar. For the spelling with kappa, see above, 3 n.

11-12 οὐδέποτε οὐδεὶς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ. This formula was used to indicate minors in wills and property declarations; see e.g. P. Fouad 35.6-7 (40), in which a woman appoints her husband as her guardian, and the cession of hand II 273 = M. Chr. 221.13-14 (93), both from Oxyrhynchus.

12-13 ἀκολούθως ταῖς δι' αὐτῆς σημανθείσας διαστολαίαις. This phrase has no exact parallel, though cf. P. Tebt. I 224.44-5 (117 BC) ἀκολουθῶν ταῖς δεδομέναις δι' αὐτῆς διαστολαῖαις, or P. Flor. I 86 = M. Chr. 247.26 (nos. 95, 1188) ἀκολουθῶν[ ] ταῖς δι' αὐτῆς [ ] τῶν δηλωθέντων σημανθείσας διαστολαίαις.

13-16 The only Oxyrhynchite parallel for this expression is XIV 4614 16-18 (69/62 BC, μηδὲ περὶ ἄλλων μηθδενὸς ἀπλούς τῶν κατὰ τὴν δηλομένην τοῦ δικαίου συγγραφῆν).

22 Ἀρσινόη. The name of one of the parties opens the subscription, the rest of which is lost

## 5170. NOTICE TO AN AGORANOMUS

29.4B 63/C(12),a, col. iii

Late first century BC

What little survives seems to establish that this papyrus belongs to the category of notices to agoranomi (2 ἀγόραφον); it probably deals with mortgaged property (land). This type of document is well attested in the Oxyrhynchite nome in the later first century AD, but nowhere else and at no other time. The text is therefore of some importance, since it would seem to prove that the practice was known at Oxyrhynchus from the very beginning of the Roman period. See further 5176 introd. The text is written in a larger and more cursive hand than 5168–9.

Θέων (σακ.) [1?] . [ ]  
 ἀγόραφον [ ]  
 Παύσιος τ[οῦ]  
 ευν[ ] υφικ[ ] η[ ]  
 5 ἐπὶ νότον . [ ]  
 π[ ] χυμ[ ] ε . [ ]  
 καὶ τῆς εἰ[ ]  
 τῶν ἔντε[ ]  
 ἐν τῷ α . [ ]

'Theon . . . Register . . . of Pysis son of . . . Eunouphis(?) . . . towards the south . . . cubit . . . and the . . . that are . . . in the . . .'

1 Θέων. In notices to agoranomi, the sender may be an official 'not precisely specified or his agent', perhaps the farmer of the ἐγκλήσιον, the tax on sales; see Straus, *L'Achaïe* 49–50, and Benaisa, *ZPE* 170 (2009), 171.

At the end of the line, probably τῷ ἀγορανομῷ χάρων.

2 ἀγόραφον. The verbs ἀγοράφω and κατογράφω are technical terms for the action of registering conveyances of property or drawing up a contract; see Straus, *L'Achaïe* 44–59, and Benaisa (1 n.), 170–71. The use of ἀγόραφον places this text in Benaisa's category 10, which consists of orders to register loans and mortgages; for references to such texts see LXXIV 4984 introd.

At the end of the line, perhaps restore δανείων συγγραφήν or συγγραφήν ἑνοβήτου.

3 Παύσιος. The name Παύσιος is attested at Oxyrhynchus in the early Roman period; see Jones and Whitehouse, *Registers* 161–2 (nos. 3266–7).

4 ευν[ ] υφικ[ ]. Εὐν[ ] υφικ[ ]? The name in this form is not attested elsewhere, but cf. Αἰνουφικ[ ], Ἐνουφικ[ ], Εἰνουφ[ ], and Εἰνουφικ[ ], all variants of the name Αἰνουφικ[ ].

5 ἐπὶ νότον. Cf. II 243 = M. Chr. 182.21 (79). Cardinal points are normally mentioned in the topographical description of the boundaries of a property.

6 At the end, εἰ[ ] (εἰ[ ] α?) or εἰ[ ].

7–8 Perhaps restore something on the lines of e.g. XLI 2972.15–16 (72) καὶ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸ εἰσόδου

καὶ ἔξόδου καὶ τῶν συνωρίσεων | τῶν ἔντων κτλ. The phrase has hitherto occurred only in sales of real property, though cf. II 241 19–22 (98), from a registration of a mortgage.

9 ἐν τῷ α . [ ]. The letter on the edge is more likely to be gamma than pi.

L. CAPPONI

## 5171. REPORT FROM A ΤΟΠΟΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ

105/220(a)

15 × 28 cm

6 BC

Arius, *topogrammateus* of the Middle toparchy, reports a rescinded sale of land, which no doubt originated from unproductive properties put on public sale, as the references to 'bought land' (4) and *paradeixis* (3–4) imply. The sale contravened the rulings of the prefect Gaius Turranianus, pronounced during the audit that he held on the matter of revenues collected in the Hermopolite nome for 8/7 BC; this probably happened in the early months of 6 BC (see below, 6–7 n.). Arius quotes the prefect's rulings (8–16), which prohibited all officials in the *chora* from purchasing land. A list of properties thus repossessed by the government is added (19–22). The recipient of this report is not specified; it may have been a copy or draft of a report from the *topogrammateus* to his superior, perhaps the *basilikos grammateus*. Cf. P. Oxy. Hels. 9 (26), a report of a toparch which likewise has no addressee.

The text contains the earliest clear reference to public sale of land, and offers the second earliest attestation of 'bought land' as a land category, which began to develop in Egypt under Augustus; see below, 4 n. Turranianus' rulings, though fragmentary and only partially intelligible, apparently belong to the same judicial tradition as the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* §70, transmitted by BGU V 1210.174–80 (after 149) and already in force in P. Mil. Vogl. II 98 (138/9?; BL V 71). On this regulation, which forbids any official or liturgist to engage in purchases and loans within the territory of his office, see S. Riccobono, *Il gnomon dell'idios logos* (1950) 210–22, where the previous studies are summarized, especially Th. Reinach, *Un code fiscal de l'Égypte romaine* (1920–21) 152–7, and W. Graf Ukkul-Gyllenband, BGU V.2 (1934) 70–77. See also A. Jördens, *Stathalterliche Verwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (2000) 478–9.

The *kleri* of Diogenetus, of Socindrus and Demetrius, and of Demetrius (19–21) are new.

The text lacks its right-hand and lower left-hand parts. What remains is broken into an upper and a lower fragment, which almost join. The extent of the loss on the right can be deduced from supplements in 2–8. The writing runs along the fibres. The back is blank.

The edition has benefited from the advice and criticism of Andrea Jördens and J. David Thomas. Paul Heilporn, Dominic Rathbone and Jane Rowlandson have also provided helpful comments.

παρ' Ἀρείου τοπογραμμάτους τῆς μέρης τοπαρχίας. 5  
 ἀναληφθῆναι τὰς ὑπὸ Φαμοίνου κωμ[ο]γραμμάτους  
 Τανάϊους καὶ τοῦ Ἱετροῦ ἐπουκίου κατὰ π[ί]στιν παρα-  
 δευμένους εἰς ἐωνημένην τ. . . δι( ) τοῖς ὑπο. [ 67  
 5 υἱοῖς παρὰ τὰ ὑπὸ Γαῖου Τυρρανίου τοῦ ἱγμένους 64  
 κεκομημένα ἐπὶ τοῦ γενομένου δια[λο]γ[ισμοῦ] 66  
 ἀργυρικῶν τοῦ κυ (ἔτους) Καίσαρος τοῦ Ἐρμο[πο]λιτοῦ νομοῦ  
 ἐξ ἃν (νακ.) μ[η]ρῶ[δε]να τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν π[ρα]γματικῶν  
 ἀνεῖθε[αι] . . . [ . . . ] τ( ) , τοὺς δὲ γράφ[ο]ι[τας] τῆν [ 66 ἀκρι-  
 10 βέστα[γρα] ἐπὶ πάντων [α]μ[α]βάνων [ 610  
 δι[κ]ασ[τ]ῆ[ς] μήτε πραγματικοὶ ἀνεῖθε[αι] [ 67  
 67 ]ειν εἰς τὰς τούτων γναφακ[α]ς [ 67  
 66 ]τε Ρωμαιοὺς τὸ ὑπὸ [τῶ]ν σηματονομήνων 65  
 66 ]ου ἀνημένου εἰ[ς] τὸν ἰδ. [ 66  
 15 66 ] ἄλλου τοιοῦτου [τ]ῶ[?] ἐπὶ τοῦ νο[?] 610  
 66 ] . ( ) (νακ.) τ( ) . . . οὐτ. [ . . . ]  
 ] κδ (ἔτους) Κα[?]σαρος  
 ] νθ( )  
 ] καὶ Διδύμου ἀμφο(τέροις) Διδ(ύμου) ἐκ (τοῦ) Διογνή(του) ε [ . . . ]  
 20 Κα]ραπίου Διδ(ύμου) ἐκ (τοῦ) Σωκίνδ(ρου) καὶ Δημη(τρίου) α. [ . . . ]  
 ] Σαραπίου Διδ(ύμου) ἐκ (τοῦ) Δημη(τρίου) ε L d (νακ.) [ . . . ]  
 ] . . . (νακ.) (γίνουσι) ις . . . (νακ.) [ . . . ]  
 ] μαι ἀδελφῶ[ι]

3 l. Τανάϊους 4 τ. . . δι( ) 7, 17 L 13 σηματονομήνω: a corr. 18 ] 2  
 19 αμφ' ἰδὲ Διονῶν 20 διδὲ ὕκων 2 δημῶ 21 διδὲ ὄρη 22 /

From Arius, *topogrammatist* of the Middle toparchy. . . (that) the (arouras) be repossessed that were verified in good faith by Phamounis, *komogrammatist* of Tanais and of the hamlet of Istros, as belonging to (the category of) bought land . . . , and assigned to the . . . sons . . . , contrary to the rulings of the prefect Gaius Turranianus . . . during the past audit of the cash revenues(?) of the 23rd year of Caesar of the Hermetopolite nome, in respect of which none of the officials in the *chora* should purchase . . . , and those who record . . . are to take . . . most accurately on all points . . . , judges, and not . . . officials . . . purchase . . . (in the names of) the wives of these men . . . nor(?) any Roman . . . the . . . by the indicated officials(?) . . . of the category of bought land . . . or of something(?) else of this kind . . . over the nome(?). . . . .  
 . . . 24th year of Caesar

\*To(?) . . . and Didymus, both of them sons of Didymus, from the (allotment) of Diognetus, 5 . . . (arouras) . . .  
 . . . to(?) Sarapion son of Didymus, from the (allotment) of Socindrus and Demetrius, 1 . . . arouras . . .

' . . . to(?) Sarapion son of Didymus, from the (allotment) of Demetrius, 5<sup>1</sup> (arouras) . . .  
 ' . . . total 16 (arouras) . . .  
 'to . . . the brother . . .'

1 Ἀρείου τοπογραμμάτους. Previously unknown.

There seems to be no room for an addressee at the end of the line. There may have been a verb governing ἀναληφθῆναι (2) or a preposition followed by τὸ (ἀναληφθῆναι), meaning 'as for' (e.g. περι τοῦ) or 'because of'.

2-4 τὰς ὑπὸ . . . κομ[ο]γραμμάτους . . . παραδ[ε]δωμένους, sc. Ἀρούαρος. Cf. IV 718 26-7 (179-81; see J. D. Thomas, *Epitaphios* ii (1982) 180) τῶν κατὰ τὸν κομμογραμμάτικόν προσχωρητικόν ἄρουρον. παραδ[ε]δωμένους suits the context better than ἀποδ[ε]δωμένους, which is not attested as a technical term in sales of land by the state. παραδ[ε]δωμένος was the final step in a successful public sale of unproductive land (at fixed price), before the payment of the buyer. It was carried out by *komogrammatist*: with the help of on-site *γνομίστρας*, they authenticated the description of the public property on sale given in the offer of purchase, and made a report to *basilikoi grammatai* either directly or through *topogrammatistai*. See P. Petaus 12, 17, 3 n.; P. Thomas 12 intro.; Th. Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber und die Gausverwaltung* (2002) 508-14, 517-18; S. Alessandri, *Le vendite fiscali nell' Egitto romano* i (2005) 50-91, 190-200, and esp. 218-19.

2 Φαμοίνους κομ[ο]γραμμάτους. Previously unknown. This variant of the name Phamounis is not common and appears more frequently in the Ptolemaic period. It is attested for the Oxyrhynchite nome only in BGU X 1943 (215/214 BC); cf. also P. Leit. 1 = SB VIII 10192.8 (c.160) Φαμοίνου.

3 Τανάϊους καὶ τοῦ Ἱετροῦ ἐπουκίου. These are the earliest mentions of the two localities, situated in the Middle toparchy. There is no other evidence that they were joined in a single *komogrammatia*, though they are mentioned side by side in other texts; see A. Benaissa, *Rural Settlements of the Oxyrhynchite Nome* (2013) s.vv. It is suggested in LVIII 3918 16 n. that the place names 'reflect the presence of Thracian immigrants in the area', but Dr Dan Dana has kindly pointed out to me that this is not very likely: (1) it would be arbitrary to conflate the supposedly Scythian settlements on the Tanais (river Don) and the Greek city of Istros (by the Danubian delta) into a single Thracian framework; (2) Istros, rather than referring to the Danube or the Greek city, may have been the name of the father of the hamlet; (3) most of the Thracian cleruchs in Egypt did not originate from the Danubian region.

Τανάϊους. This spelling of the genitive of Τάναϊς with a redundant iota is also found in XXXVII 2874.3 (108) and XXII 2351.8, 46 (112).

κατὰ π[ί]στιν. Perhaps equivalent to (καλή) *fidem, bona fide*. Cf. SB XX 14339.16-17 (m), where a prefect is reported to have said that he acted κατὰ π[ί]στιν in wrongly assigning a liturgy; see J. Maspero, *BIFAO* 10 (1912) 156. Both this prefect and the village scribe in 5171, though acting 'in good faith', may have been in the wrong; see A. Berger, *EDRL* s.v. *error facti*. Phamounis may have carried out the παραδ[ε]δωσεις before C. Turranianus issued his rulings.

4 ἐωνημένην, sc. γῆν. This is the first contemporary reference to this land category, though P. Oxy. Helk. 9.6 (AD 96) indicates that it already existed by 16/15 BC. It was formed from unproductive land put on public sale at fixed prices and was created as a distinct category in the very early years of Roman rule; see J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt* (1996) 48-54; Alessandri, *Le vendite fiscali* 205-6; Jördens, *Staatliche Verstaatlichung* 486, with further references.

Public sales of land were previously not mentioned in any document earlier than XX 2277 of AD 13. Cf. also IV 721 (13/14), IX 1188 (13).

τ. . . δι( ) . . . It may be possible to read τῆς ἰδ(ιωνικῆς?), but the wording would be clumsy. See also B-9 n., 14 n.

4-5 τοῖς ὑπο. [ 67 ] υἱοῖς. After ὑπο there is a trace that looks like the top of an upright, followed by the upper part of an oblique rising from left to right, and then perhaps the upper part of an

upright. If we read τοῖς ὑποψη(μάνου) υἱοῖς, the implication would be that the name of the father of the 'sons', i.e. Διδύμου (see 19–21), has been omitted: Didymus' sons presumably acted as front men for the fraudulent purchase (cf. below, 11–12 n.). Another possibility would be to restore ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ or ὑποψη(μάνου), which would imply that these were Phamounis' sons under his tutelage, for whom he illegally bought the properties and to whom he transferred them; however, unless we reckon with the implicit use of a double name, it would be impossible to explain why the name of their father is given as Διδύμου.

3 Γάλου Τυρρανίου τοῦ ἡγέμενος. C. Turranus is the fifth prefect of Egypt known to us, attested in office between 10 March 7 BC and 7 June 4 BC. For a list of texts mentioning him, see P. Burreth, *ANRW* II 10.1, 475; G. Bastianini, *ANRW* II 10.1, 504; add BGU VIII 2000, 1, CPR XV 15.1. His career was first reconstructed by A. Stein, *Die Pflanzung von Ägypten* (1956) 19–20, with I. Philae II 142 (= SB V 1420 = IGR I 1296) of 8 March 7 BC as the earliest attestation. In this inscribed epigram, Catilius alias Nicomachus writes of his travel from Alexandria to Philae and his inscription there and mentions the name of the prefect, C. Turranus. As the prefect would have travelled up the Nile some time between January and April (see 6–7 n.), Catilius' journey must have coincided with the *comensus*, that is, he must have joined Turranus' retinue at the beginning of 7 BC, as É. Bernand suspects (I. Philae II 142.6 n., pp. 82–3). It is highly likely that Turranus was in office already by the end of 8 BC.

6–7 δια[λε]ξι[ε]μο[ς] ἐβ[ε] ἀργυρουῶν τοῦ σϰ [στραπ] κτλ. There is not enough room at the end of 6 for *εὐκταῖος καὶ φόρου* may be considered as a stopgap.

If *διαλογισμῶς* here refers to the prefect's *comensus*, as seems likely, it is its earliest attestation in this sense, the next earliest being *M. Chr.* 68 (before 30 June 15). Alternatively, it may have the more general sense 'audit', as in several Ptolemaic papyri.

This audit of the revenues from the Hermopolite nome for Year 23 (8/7 BC) must have been carried out in Year 24 (7/6 BC); cf. below, 17. The fact that this nome was singled out may suggest that the audit was performed during the assizes held for Middle and Lower Egypt, which should have taken place some time between January and April (6 BC); see R. Haensch, *Pap. Comp. XXI* 329–3.

8 ἐφ' ὧν. ὧν presumably refers to *κεκρυμένα*. For ἐπί + gen. meaning 'in respect of which', similar to ἐπί + dat., see perhaps Mayer, *Grammatik* II 2 460–70, 473. Cf. the fragmentary P. Lips II 124.61–2 ἡ πρόσθετος ἐφ' ὧν.

8–12 This passage, after ἐφ' ὧν, consists of three infinitive clauses which may have depended on a finite verb now lost. One possibility is *προσέειπε*, perhaps to be restored at the end of 11. However, a finite verb may not be required for infinitives expressing orders. Besides, the second and third infinitives seem to form a unity, with τοῖς . . . γράβ[ε]ο[ι]της (9) as the subject; see 9–11 n. and 11–12 n.

8–9 μὴ γένοιτο τῶν κατὰ τῆν χώραν π[ρο]νομιατικῶν ἰδιωτικῶν . . . [ε]. [τ]. This regulation is reminiscent of Dig. XVIII 1.62 *quod officii causa in provincia agi vel militis, praedia comparari in eadem provincia non potest, praetoriumque si paterna eius a fixo distrahatur*. The unred part may be the equivalent to *praedia*, and ἰδιωτικῶν . . . may be a possibility; cf. 4 n., 14 n. Cf. also Dig. XVIII 1.46, XLIX 14.46.2, C. Th. VIII 15.1.

8 π[ρο]νομιατικῶν. Cf. 11, where the word survives in full. This is the earliest attestation of the term in papyri of the Roman period. It refers to minor officials, very often *komezgrammateis*, and probably does not include liturgists, as in later times (there is no proof that the Roman liturgical system had been introduced at such an early date). This specific meaning of the term can also be deduced from the edict of T. Iulius Alexander (88) 21 ἢ *εργαστηρίοι ἢ προνομιατικοὶ ἢ ἑλλᾶς τῶν προσέειπεν λόγου* [τῶν] *θουραίου λόγου*. Turranus' ruling thus seems to have a less extended application than *Comenus* 570, which concerns liturgists as well; see BGU V 2, pp. 72–4. For *προνομιατικῶν* as 'subordinate officials', see also VI 899 17 n.; G. Chalon, *L'Édit de Tibérius Julius Alexander* (1964) 126 n. 12; CPR XXIII 17 8 n.; Kruse, *Der kaiserliche Schreiber* 103 n. 220.

9–11 τοῖς δὲ γράβ[ε]ο[ι]της τῆν . . . δια[ε]ξί[ε]μο[ς]. The subject of λ[ε]ξι[ε]μο[ς] ought to be τοῖς . . . γράβ[ε]ο[ι]της, perhaps secretaries in charge of the registration of sales of land; the object will then

begin with τῆς, e.g., τῆς [γ]ράμμην ('the secretaries are required to take good notice of the prefect's judgement').

9–10 ἀκρ[ε]||βέτα[ε]||[τα] : not *εὐβέτα*, which is used exclusively for honorific titles in the papyri, and not attested before the third century. It should be specified that there is not enough room to restore -εῖ||[τῶν].

11 δια[ε]ξί[ε]μο[ς] : ἀκρ[ε]||βέτα[ε]||[τα]?

11–12 μὴτε προνομιατικῶς ἀνεκτίθει [ε7] | [ε7]||[ε]ω εὐε τὰς τοῦτον γωνίας. This is the third infinitive proposition, which prohibits illegal purchase by functionaries through front men. The gap at the end of 11 or even 12 will have held an infinitive meaning 'allow' or similar to account for the date. Cf. Dig. XVIII 1.46 *non licet eis officio, quod administrant quis, omnes quid vel per se vel per alium praestare*; XLIX 14.46.2 *quod a praeside sine praesentibus vel qualibet alio in sua provincia, in qua administrat, licet per subalternam personam comparatum eis, imperatoris contractus nunciatur*. Compare also P. Mil. Vogl. II 98 (138–9), that a village scribe is accused of fraudulent purchase of land: 9–10 τῆν καταγυλιῶν τ[ε]||[ε]πιθεῖα ἐκ ὄνομα τῆς πρεσβείας ἀδελφοῦ Τεαρίου, 9–7 δὲ ἀνεκτίθει (I. Bau) δὲ [2]||[ε]μο[ς] τῆς Τεαρί[ε]||[ε]ω. For the interchange between the expressions ἐκ ὄνομα τοῦ δέοντος and ἐκ τῶν δέοντα, frequently attested in tax and land registers, see F. Preisigke, *Griechisch* II 149–50; P. Ryli. II 202a.8ff. n.

12–13 ε[π] . . . | [ε] Προνομια. Perhaps read [ε]πί οὐδὲ ἀκρῶς οὐδὲ Προνομια, with two groups of people of special civil status standing in opposition to 'the officials in the *chama*' (8), though it would be unusual if ἀκρῶς preceded Προνομια. This regulation, which presumably runs down to the beginning of 16, does not correspond to any Roman legislation of which we are aware.

14 |ου ἀνομήτων ε[π]||[ε]μο[ς] δ[ε] . . . [At the start, γ]οῦ? At the end, before the break, the edge of a high semi-circle, followed by a speck on the edge. ὀψι[ε]||[ε]ω( . . . ) may be considered, though the form of the omega would be irregular. If correct, it would offer the earliest record of 'bought land' being treated as a sub-category of private land. Cf. also above, 4 n. and 8–9 n.

ἀνομήτων. For the perfect forms of ἀνομήμα without reduplication, see E. T. Gignac, *Grammatica* II 227.

15 Perhaps restore ἡ τῶν|ε] ἑλλᾶς τοῦτοῦτον and ἐπὶ τοῦ νομίου.

16 The first letter on the edge looks like mu, topped by an L-shaped alpha.

τ[ε] . . . ο[υ]τ . . . [Perhaps τ[ε]||[ε]||[ε]ω or τ[ε]||[ε]||[ε]ω ο[υ]τ[ε]ω though it is hard to read sigma.

17–23 The structure of the text here differs from that of the preceding lines; this, as well as the smaller hand, makes it difficult to estimate the number of letters lost to the left.

17 | . κθ [ε]ρωκ] Χα[ε]||[ε]γαροκ. Not τ[ε]||[ε]ω: the short horizontal before κθ can hardly belong to upsilon.

18 | . υθ[ε] . . . Of the uncertain letter, which must be a vowel, there are traces belonging to the upper and lower right-hand corners. The only available choices are epsilon and eta, and ] εθ[ε]||[ε]ω or εθ[ε]||[ε]ω may be considered (referring to the village and farmstead mentioned at 3).

19 In the break at the beginning of the line perhaps restore [Carpantaw] (cf. 20–21), though we do not know whether Didymus had more than two sons.

20 ἐκ (τῶν) Διογενή(τῶν). This *klēna* was previously unknown. The name is rarely attested in Egypt after the Ptolemaic period. The original holder may or may not be related to Billis son of Diogenes, an (ἀδελφοκτῆρος) κ[ε]||[ε]||[ε]ω in P. Tebt. III 2 890.4 (n. BC; κ[ε]||[ε]||[ε]ω) ed. pr., but cf. e.g. P. Encheir. 8.1, 20–21. The same Sarapion son of Didymus is probably meant in both lines. Cf. 3168 3 n.

20 ἐκ (τῶν) Καυδῶδ(ου) καὶ Αμυ(τηρίου). This *klēna* too was not attested previously. The name Καυδῶδης has appeared only in O. Edifou III 371 1.41, 2.2, 3.6, 3.9 (49 BC) etc. No etymology has been offered.

21 ἐκ (τῶν) Αμυ(τηρίου). This *klēna* too appears to be new. Several *klēnai* of Demetrius have been attested in the Oxyrhynchite nome, but none in the Middle toparchy; see P. Prunetti, *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 172–3.



22 This line may have started with  $\delta\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota$ , introducing another amount of aouras. What comes after  $\epsilon\tau$  looks like the siglum for ( $\pi\epsilon\mu\mu\omega$ ) or ( $\delta\pi\acute{\rho}\alpha\beta\alpha\iota$ ), but this is not expected here. The final traces may be read as alpha or lambda, or as a word abbreviated at the second letter, which would be a simplified and raised alpha.

23  $\Delta\delta\delta\eta\mu\alpha\iota$   $\delta\delta\epsilon\lambda\theta\omega\lambda$ ? In this line the hand is larger than that in 19–22, and looks more like that in 1–18. This, as well as the fact that this name follows the sum total of illegally bought aouras in 22, suggests that this line is not part of the list. Thus we cannot tell with certainty whether this person is the Didymus son of the Didymus named in 19, the brother of the Sarpion mentioned in 20–21.

This was the last line of the column. It is not clear whether the report abruptly ended here, or was carried on in a lost second column.

R.-L. CHANG

## 5172. RECEIPT FOR DIKE-TAX

103/124(b)

8.3 x 12.2 cm

30 July 7

This is the earliest receipt for dike-tax from the Roman period so far published, taking the place of O. Petr. 79 (15). The closest parallel is CPR V 1 (66), which has the same arrangement: date of payment, verb of paying, names of private banking agents, year for which the tax was due, district for which the tax was counted, name of tax-payer, amount paid; see R. Bogaert, *ANCSoc* 31 (2001) 250 (formula 1), and below, 3 n. Another point of interest is the mention of the city quarter of Hermaion, the earliest to date; see 3 n.

The papyrus is complete except for a small loss at the lower right. This is not likely to have contained a signature, also absent from CPR V 1 and II 312 descr. = SB X 10237. A *kollēsis* is visible 3.2 cm from the left edge. The writing runs along the fibres. The back is blank.

ἔτους λς Καίσαρος,

Μ[ε]([ορη]) Ϝ. διαγέγρα(α)φέ

διὰ Ὁρ( ) τ(ρα)π(ε)ξί(του) χω(ι)μα(τι)κοῦ λβ (ἔτους) Ἑρ(μα)ί(ου)

Ἐρ(ίαν) Π(λου)τ(άρχ)ου

3 (δρα)χ(μάς) πέντε (πεντά)βολον, (γίνονται) ε (πεντά)βολον.

3 ωβτρρ-χ' λβ<sup>ε</sup> ερμ\* 4 πλουτρρ\* 5 Ϝ Ϝ Ϝ

Year 36 of Caesar, Mesore 6. Horion son of Phutarchus has paid through Hor—(?), banker, for dike-tax for the 32nd year, for (the district of) Hermaion, five drachmas 5 obols, total 5 (dr.) 5 ob.<sup>1</sup>

2 διαγέγρα(α)φέ. The expansion in the active voice is suggested by the use of the nominative for the name of the tax-payer (4). We should therefore resolve διαγέγρα(α)φέ instead of διαγέγρα(α)ται in II 288 1.7, 12, 17, 21, 25, 30, 32, and 289 1.2, ii 2, 4; these two texts should be classified under formula 1 of bank receipts in R. Bogaert, *ANCSoc* 31 (2001) 250. (Bogaert's formula 2 with διαγέγραται seems to be characteristic of tax receipts from Philadelphia; see A. E. Hanson, *BASP* 19 (1982) 54–5.)

3 Ὁρ( ) : not Ὁρ(ου), as the type of the abbreviation indicates.  $\epsilon\tau\rho$ ( ) is not excluded, but the putative alpha would have an abnormally flat bottom; cf. Καίσαρος in 1. In any case, this banker is not otherwise known.

τ(ρα)π(ε)ξί(του). The absence of the article (τῆς) before the banker's name tells against resolving the abbreviation as τ(ρα)π(ε)ξί(της), which is what earlier editions have (contrast CPR V 1.4): see 288 8 *et passim*, 289 2 *et passim*, SB X 10222 iii 3, iv 2, 10223, 10237, 10242 3, 10243 1 3, ii 2; in all these passages the expansion τ(ρα)π(ε)ξί(του) should be preferred. Thus there is no distinction (to be drawn so far as this point is concerned between the examples cited by Bogaert (a n.) for his formula 1 and for his formula 2. Indeed Bogaert already includes 288 in his second category, with τ(ρα)π(ε)ξί(του) rather than τ(ρα)π(ε)ξί(της).

For private banks in Roman Oxyrhynchus, see Bogaert, *ZPE* 109 (1995) 131–7.  $\chi\omega(ι)μα(τι)κοῦ$ . For Roman dike-tax as a capitulation tax, see P. Brodtk. 45 introd.; P. Koln III 138 2 n., DX 376 introd. (p. 143); K. Maresch, *Bronze und Silber* (1996) 164–72; Bogaert, *ANCSoc* 30 (2000) 148–9; P. Heilporn, *Thébes et ses taxes* = O. Stras. II (2009) 25 n. 91, 94–7. It is first recorded in BGU IV 1198 (Heracl.: 5/4 BC), a petition to the prefect from four priests who complained of being subject to poll- and dike-tax. There are seventeen published Oxyrhynchite papyri attesting this tax, excluding P. Koln III 138 and XII 1438, which are of uncertain provenance. Except for P. Princ. II 46 (ii) and XLIII 3107 (293), they are all from the first century; see the list in Maresch, *Bronze und Silber* 232–3, 235, to which add SB XX 14665 (30), SB X 10236 = II 322 descr. (36), P. Oxy. Hels. 29 (54), and XLI 2971 (66). Apart from the last three documents, which are contracts of apprenticeship, they are largely cumulative receipts and tax accounts, in which the dike-tax is often connected with other charges, especially poll- and pig-tax. The poll-, pig- and dike-taxes were the main taxes levied on persons in Oxyrhynchus from the reign of Augustus to the end of the first century (or later); see II 389 descr. (early 1), SB XX 14665, P. Oxy. Hels. 29.30–31, 2971 19–20, P. Oxy. Hels. 12 (99).

Ἑρ(μα)ί(ου). This is the earliest attestation of this district, on which see S. Daris, *ZPE* 132 (2000) 215–16 = Calderini, *Diz. geogr.* Suppl. III 99–100; see also Suppl. III 36, Suppl. V 32, 73.

5 (δρα)χ(μάς) πέντε (πεντά)βολον. This same amount paid for dike-tax, including *prodiagraphomata* and other taxes, is recorded in some Theban ostraca of the late first century; see Maresch, *Bronze und Silber* 223. The standard rate for dike-tax in the first and second centuries was 6 drachmas 4 obols, attested as early as AD 15 in Upper Egypt (O. Petr. 79) and 18 in Oxyrhynchus (II 309 descr. = SB X 10221 iv). *Prodiagraphomata* and other additional payments were included in the sums collected elsewhere in Egypt, but such payments are not recorded in any Oxyrhynchite document relative to the dike-tax, and thus can hardly account for the difference between the standard rate and the payment of 5 dr. 5 ob. in 5172. Whether this amount indicates a different rate or partial payment, we cannot tell; cf. the instalments recorded in II 308 descr. = SB X 10243 ii 5–6 (3 dr. 4 1/2 ob. + 2 dr. 5 1/2 ob. paid for 46/7), and possibly in II 312 descr. = SB X 10237 (3 dr. 4 1/2 ob. paid for 35/6), or 288 20 (6 dr. paid for 23/4).

R.-L. CHANG

## 5173. LOAN OF MONEY

104/178(a)

13 x 12 cm

29 August 25 – 3 February 26

Anteis son of Titan, previously known from LVIII 3915 (30), acknowledges receipt of a loan of 100 silver drachmas through a private bank at the Sерареum of Oxyrhynchus. What remains is paralleled by SB XVI 12700A (end of reign of Augustus; see R. Bogaert, *ZPE* 109 (1995) 154), SB X 10222.1–12 (20), 10238.1–10

(37), 10246.1-11 (55), and II 269.1 8 (57). The lost part will have contained the penalties in case of default, the *synō*-clause, the signature of an amanuensis (Anteis was illiterate; see 3915 27-9) with the date, and the notification of payment through the bank. Cf. also P. IFAO III 30 (early n), P. Yale I 60 (6/5 BC), XLVII 3351 (34), and XLIX 3490 (140/41) (the last two did not require the involvement of a bank).

The text offers the earliest dated instance of the expression 'imperial and Ptolemaic silver coinage'; see below, 4-5 n.

The papyrus was rolled up from the right and crushed; the leftmost panel was tucked in prior to the endorsement. The strip was then folded horizontally at least twice. A *kollēsis* is visible 5.2 cm from the left. The text runs along the fibres.

Ἀντείε Τιτάνος Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς  
 Ζωίλῳ Θέωνος χάρειν. ὁμολογῶν ἔχειν πα-  
 ρὰ σοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ὀξύρυγχων πόλεϊ Σαραπίου  
 δὰ τῆς Ἰέρακος τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τραπεζῆς ἀργυ-  
 ρίου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Πτολεμαίου νομισματοῦ δρα-  
 χμῆς ἑκατὸν, (γίνονται) ἀργυρίου (δραχμῶν) ρ κεφαλαίῳ[v], εἰς οὐδὲν τὰ κα-  
 θόλου προσήκται, ἀς κ[α] ἀποδώσει σοι τῆς δεκά-  
 τῆ]ι τοῦ Με[χ]εῖρ [τοῦ ἐν]εστάτος δωδεκάτου  
 ἐ[τ]ους Τιβερίου Κα[ί]σαρος Σεβαστοῦ χωρὶς πά-  
 10 ρος ὅ]περ θέσει[c 4 ].....[.....].  
 ]..[ 67 ]..[.....]

Back, downwards, along the fibres

(m.2?) Ἐρμαιῶν [.....]

2 l. ὁμολογῶ      6 [αρρ]      7 l. ἀποδώσει      8 δωδεκάτου -      9 πα -

'Anteis son of Titan, Persian by descent, to Zoilus son of Theon, greetings. I acknowledge that I am in receipt from you, at the Serapeum in the city of Oxyrhynchus through the bank of Hierax, son of Ptolemaeus, of one hundred silver drachmas of imperial and Ptolemaic coinage, in total 100 silver drachmas as principal, to which nothing has been added at all, and which I will return to you on the tenth of Mecheir of the present twelfth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, without any delay. If I fail to refund you according to the set conditions(?) . . .'

Back: 'Of Hermasus . . .'

1 *Ἀντείε*. This confirms the reading of the name in LVIII 3915 23.

*Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς*. Anteis is not called a 'Persian by descent' in 3915, where he is the seller of a camel; this is further evidence that this designation was legal fiction at that time and applied to debtors. This situation is paralleled e.g. by P. Mich. V 332 = PSI VIII 610 (47/8), where a certain Orestes is or is not designated as 'Persian by descent' depending on whether he is a borrower or vendor; see P. Merton I 10.4 n.

2 *Ζωίλῳ Θέωνος*. A person of this name is attested in X 1316 4 5 of 57 (we have seen a pho-

tograph). Zoilus son of Theon in II 265 41, 42 (81 95) and LXXX 5051 7 is probably a namesake, since he was alive some time in the reign of Domitian; cf. also P. Eirene I 5 = SB XXIV 1603 2 0), though the patronymic is only tentatively restored.

3-4 *ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ὀξύρυγχων πόλεϊ Σαραπίου* δὲ τῆς Ἰέρακος τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τραπεζῆς. The banker Hierax son of Ptolemaeus was not known previously. R. Bogaert, ZPE 109 (1995) 155-6, argues that there were two private banks operating at the Oxyrhynchite Serapeum at least from AD 30 to 74, one of which, unlike the bank mentioned here, included the Serapeum in its name: 3915 13-14 δὰ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ὀξύρυγχων πόλεϊ Σαραπίου Σαραπίου τοῦ Ζωίλου τραπεζῆς would be a reference to the other bank. To Bogaert's list of documents mentioning the bank(s) at the Serapeum add now also LXXX 5052 30-31 (86/7) and P. Supp. 497-10 (n, but not later than 153/4; this bank was confiscated by the state and was farmed out regularly from 133/4 onwards; see Bogaert 135b).

4-5 *ἀργυρίου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Πτολεμαίου νομισματοῦ*. This expression reflects the simultaneous use of the old Ptolemaic coinage and the new billon tetradrachm, first minted in 20/21; see E. Christiansen, ZPE 54 (1984) 292-6. 5173 offers its earliest attestation, followed by SB XVI 12609 = CHLA XLV 1340 = C. Epist. Lat. I 13 (27). (The reference to such coinage in SB XV 15028 allows us to narrow down the possible range of dates for that document from 14-37 to 30-37).

6-7 *κεφαλαίῳ[v]*, εἰς οὐδὲν τὰ καθόλου προσήκται. This formula is characteristic of Oxyrhynchite loans of money from AD 20 to 85; see F. Leroussel, ZPE 181 (2012) 165-8, who argues that the usual rate of 12% p. a. lies behind the lack of a reference to interest. Cf. now 5169 7 (18 BC) with n.

7-9 Mecheir 10, Year 12 Tiberius = 4 February 26. The form of words may suggest that Mecheir had not yet begun.

10 After ὅ]περ θέσει[c], parallels suggest reading *ἐν ὅ] μὲν ἔτη ὅ] καθ' ἡμέραν*.

12 The purpose of this line, much too damaged and containing a name which does not occur on the front so far as it is preserved, is unclear. The endorsements of other Oxyrhynchite loan contracts of this period (P. Yale I 60.19-20 (6/5 BC), XLIX 3485 38-40 (98), P. Genova II 62.49 (98), etc.) are of no help.

R.-L. CHANG

#### 5174. LETTER TO APELLES, STRATEGUS

58/B(37)a

15.5 x 16 cm

28 October - 26 November 26

A fragment from the end of a letter addressed on the back to Apelles, a stratēgus of the Panopolite nome not known previously. A further point of interest is the reference to an unnumbered 'August day' (see 10 n.).

The letter is written along the fibres on a sheet that seems to have belonged to a composite roll: there is a three-layer sheet-joint close to the right-hand edge, and a four-layer one 2.3 cm from the left-hand edge, while the sheet attached at left is of finer quality and lighter in colour than that at right.

.....]	.....[	ε20	] ωμ
.....]	.....[	ε20	] το
.....]	.....[	ε20	] αν
.....]	.....[	ε20	] εικ-

5 π[έ]μψαι μοι αὐτ[ ] [ c.20 ] ὄν  
 ἐ[δ]ὶν αἰρήνη γράφε κ[ ] c.20 ]αι.  
 πρὸ δὲ πάντων, σεαυτοῦ, ἐπιμέλου ἴν' ὑγιάνηαι.  
 ἔρρωσο.

(ἔτους) ἐν Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, μηνὶ Νέῳ  
 Σεβαστίῳ, Σεβαστή.

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

] (ιδαι.) Ἀπελλεῖ στρατηγῶν Πανοπολ(ίτου)

4 two horizontals over υ and η; perhaps only accident 7 πανστει 9 L  
 10 short oblique stroke over η of σεβαστή 11 πανοπό

'... therefore if(?) you(?) have considered... send me... Write about whatever you choose...  
 Before everything, take care of yourself so that you are healthy. Farewell.

\*Year 13 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, in the month of Neos Sebastos, August day.

Back: '... to Apelles, strategus of the Panopolite nome.'

4 Perhaps read εἰ [μ]εῖν ὄν ἡγησαι, though iota does not reach below the baseline elsewhere in the text.

5 αὐτ[ ]: αὐτῆ[ (αὐτῆ[?) or αὐτ[ (αὐτ[?]κα would go well with ἐκεῖ[?]μψαι).

5-6 ] ὄν ἐ[δ]ὶν αἰρήνη γράφε. In the break restore περὶ, as in P. Lips. I 104.13-14 (95/6a BC), SB XVIII 13273.10-11 (Ptolemaic), etc.; or ὑπέρ, as in IV 787 (16).

10 Σεβαστή. Cf. 5176 fr. 2.7. There is one other instance of an unnumbered ἡμέρα Σεβαστή in the month of Neos Sebastos from the reign of Tiberius, viz. O. Stras. I 54 (15); there may be another from the fourth year of Gaius (39/40), if the name of the month is correctly read (O. Wilck. 385, with BL II. 1: 58; a different reading is proposed in O. Bodl. II 429 introd. = BL VIII 539 [BL slightly misrepresents this as a correction to the suggestion in BL II.1]). It is possible that such unnumbered days indicate the birthday of the ruling emperor, but Snyder has pointed out that this is not likely to apply to Tiberius. There are grounds to believe that from the reign of Tiberius onwards the day intended under this name was the first of each month. See generally W. F. Snyder, *Aegyptus* 18 (1936) 227-32 and 44 (1964) 162-4, and more recently the discussion by C. Bennett at [http://www.tyndalehouse.com/Egypt/ptolemaics/chron/egyptian/chron\\_eg\\_anl\\_augustus.htm](http://www.tyndalehouse.com/Egypt/ptolemaics/chron/egyptian/chron_eg_anl_augustus.htm).

11 Ἀπελλεῖ στρατηγῶν Πανοπολ(ίτου). No other strategus of the Panopolite nome is known for the early Roman period. As often, he may have been an Oxyrhynchite who came back to Oxyrhynchus with his papers, though the name Apelles is not attested in this region before the second century.

The inventory number of 5174 (5B/B(37)a) is adjacent to that of LV 3807 (5B/B(36)a), a letter apparently sent from an official, perhaps a royal scribe, to another notable some time between years 12 and 15 of Tiberius. 3807 mentions affairs in Diopolis, probably one of the two cities of this name in Upper Egypt ('Parva' or 'Magna'), to the south of and not too far away from Panopolis. The names of the sender and addressee are lost. One may wish to associate the two letters, but it should be noted that the addressee of 3807 was probably not a strategus when that letter was written (see 3807 24-6).

N. GONIS

### 5175. PETITION TO THE PREFECT

57/102(a)

14 × 9 cm

ε49

Only the top of the document survives. It appears to be a duplicate of I 38 = M. Chr. 58 = M. V. Biscottini, *Aegyptus* 46 (1966) 237-8 (no. 24), a petition of the weaver Tryphon to the prefect, written some time after 29 March 49. 5175 is not written by the same hand as 38, and has a number of spellings of its own (1, 3, 4); see also 5-6 n.

For bibliography on the archive of Tryphon see M. Piccolo, *Aegyptus* 83 (2003) 197 n. 1; add now P. J. Parsons, *City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish* (2007) 211-14; and B. Kelly, *Petitions, Litigation, and Social Control in Roman Egypt* (2011) 131-3, 312-16. I 39 = II 317 (52) is another duplicate in the archive.

The back is blank.

Γναῖου Ὀθεργιλίου Καπίτ[ω]ν  
 παρὰ Τρύφωνος τῷ[δ] Διονυσίου  
 τῶν ἀπὸ Ὀξυρύνχων π[ό]λιτεω. Cί[ρο]ς  
 Cί[ρ]ου φνακχέρεσσ τ[ῆ]ν γυναικί μου  
 5 C[α]ρ[α]εῦτι Ἀπίωνος τῶν . . .  
 ε6 δι' ἐγγύου [ε]μ[οῦ]

3 Ὀξυρύνχων

4 Δοκχέρεω

6 ἰ. ἐγγύου

'To Gnaeus Vergilius Capito from Tryphon son of Dionysius, (one) of those from the city of Oxyrhynchus. Syrus son of Syrus handed over to my wife Saraeus daughter of Apion, in the (seventh?) year, on my security...'

1 Cn. Vergilius Capito was prefect of Egypt from c.47 to 52. His *nomen* is spelt Ὀθεργιλίου in 38 1, 2 τῷ[δ]. Dr Henry observes that the article is present also in 38 2, but omitted by editors.

5-6 Perhaps τῶν δ[ι] [μου ἐρε]; I 38 4-6 run τῶν ε (ἐρε) Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος δι' ἐγγύου ἐμοῦ δ' ἀνεύρηται. This Year 7 = 46/7.

N. GONIS

### 5176. NOTICE TO AN AGORANOMUS

9 1B.172/A (fr. 1)

11.7 × 8 cm

23 June 52

9 1B.172/B (fr. 2)

12.2 × 16.5 cm

Fr. 2 is the lower part of a document whose top (fr. 1) was previously published as LXXIV 4985. Fr. 1 preserves the beginning of a letter from Heraclides and Ammonius authorizing an agoranomus to register the sale of house property. Fr. 2

provides the foot of the document, and contains the end of the dating clause, the signature of Heraclides with a repetition of the date, and a note to the agoranomus from a banker and his associates confirming their receipt of the requisite tax, a sum of 2 talents and 1500 drachmas in bronze (see 6–10 n.). The two fragments do not appear to join and little is left of the first hand in fr. 2.1–2; but the continuity of a sheet-join c.5 cm from the left-hand edge and the alignment of the vertical folds guarantee that the fragments belong to the same document.

This type of document, in which officials of unspecified function either authorize agoranomi to register the sale or mortgage of house property or a slave, or order them to grant the manumission of a slave, is represented by some two dozen examples and is peculiar to Oxyrhynchus; for a discussion and list of the relevant papyri, see M. G. Raschke, *BASP* 13 (1976) 17–29, and A. Benaissa, *ZPE* 170 (2009) 157–83, to which add now LXXIV 4984, LXXV 5051, and very probably 5170 in this volume. The exact function of the senders of these letters is uncertain, but they are most commonly identified with the supervisors of the sales-tax (*ἐπιτηρηταὶ ἐγκυκλίου*); see J. A. Straus, *L'achat et la vente des esclaves dans l'Égypte romaine* (2004) 49–50, and cf. *ZPE* 170 (2009) 171.

Virtually all published letters of this kind date from the last three decades of the first century AD, probably because a batch of documents was cleared from the office of the agoranomi at the end of this period. Since the vast majority were published or described in P. Oxy. I–II, they were no doubt excavated together during Grenfell and Hunt's first season at Oxyrhynchus (1897). 5170 of the late first century BC and this letter, both likewise found in the first season, are the first specimens outside this date range, a proof (if one was needed) that the chronological concentration of the other letters is the result of ancient archival and disposal history rather than of a short-lived administrative practice.

The writing runs along the fibres and the back is blank. Fr. 2 preserves a generous lower margin (7 cm).

Fr. 1

Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Ἀμμώνιος τῶν  
ἀγορανόμων χ(αίρου). κατάρωφον  
ὤνην Διοκλεῖ Πτολεμαῖου τοῦ  
ἐπιβάλλοντος τῶν διατιθεμένων  
5 μέρους οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς καὶ τῆς εἰς ταύτ(α)  
εἰσόδου καὶ ἐξ(ί)δου καὶ τῶν κυκρῶτων  
κοινῶν [καὶ] ἀξιωματίων πρὸς τοὺς τε  
α[ἰ] τοῦ ἀρε(λ)φοῦς κατ'ἄ πατέρα καὶ τοὺς ... ε  
α. [ c.12 ] ἐρω. .... [ . ] χ(αί)

Fr. 2

[ [ c8 ] ] [ . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . . . ]  
(vac) [ ] ὀνόηθι καὶ εἰκίδι πῆ.  
(m.2) Ἡρακλεῖ [ἰδης] χρη(μάτιων). (ἐτους) ἰβ Τιβηρίου Κλαυδίου  
Καίσαρος [σεβα]στοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Ἀντοκράτορος,  
5 (vac) Παννι πῆ.  
(m.3) Πολέμων καὶ οἱ μέτοχοι(αὶ) τοῦ ἀγορα(νόμου) χ(αίρου).  
τῇ κθ σεβαστή(ι) τοῦ Παννι  
τοῦ ἐν(ε)στατο(ς) ἐτους καθ' ἡ(ν) ἐχ(ε)ι(α) διαγρα(φῆ)  
χα(λκού) πρὸ(ς) ἀργ(ύριον) (τάλαντα) δύο χίλιας πεντακο(σίας),  
10 (γίνονται) χα(λκού) πρὸς ἀργ(ύριον) (τάλαντα) β' Ἀφ. (vac) ἐρω(α).

Fr. 1

2 ζ' 3 υ of -μιοισ κοτ. 5 παυ' 6 λ. κυκρῶτων 9 ] χ"

Fr. 2

3 χρ' L 6 μετὸ ἀγορῆς 7 η of second σεβαστη κοτ. τῷ 8 ενερωτ'  
καθ' ἐχ(α)ταβ 9 χ' π' ἀρ' π' πεντακ' 10 = χ' ρ' β' Ἀφ' ἐρω"

(Fr. 1) 'Heraclides and Ammonius to the agoranomus, greetings. Register a sale for Diocles son of Ptolemaeus of the share that falls to the one disposing of it, of a house and courtyard and the entrance and exit to these and the appurtenances, (being) common and indivisible with his brothers on his father's side and ...'

(Fr. 2) '... twenty-eighth, 28.'

(and hand) 'Heraclides: register (ἰθ). Year 12 of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Emperor, 28 Pauni.'

(3rd hand) 'Polemon and associates to the agoranomus, greetings. On 29 Pauni, August day, of the present year, (N.N. has paid) in accordance with the bank draft in his possession, two talents and one thousand five hundred (drachmas) of bronze (converted) to silver, total 2 tal. 1500 (dr.) of bronze (converted to silver). Farewell.'

Fr. 1

7-8 τὸς τε | α[ἰ] τοῦ ἀρε(λ)φοῦς κατ'ἄ πατέρα καὶ τοὺς ... ε; τοὺς ἐρωτω. [ . . . ] ... ερω  
καὶ το. [ . . . ] ε. αδ. π. (ἀβ)ελ(φοῦς) and πατέρα suggested in 7-8 n.). I am grateful to R.-L. Chang for  
restoration work on these lines and the recovery of further text.

9 α. [ c.12 ] ἐρω. .... [ . ] χ(αί) ; [ c.14 ] ἐρω. [ . . . ] . . . ε. αδ. π.

Fr. 2

3 Ἡρακλεῖ [ἰδης] χρη(μάτιων). Letters to agoranomi authorizing the registration of sales or mortgages or ordering the manumission of slaves typically contain the 'signature' N.N. χρη(μάτιων) in the sender's own hand; for a list of instances, see *ZPE* 170 (2009) 170 n. 39, to which add I 48 21, 49 14. In the other examples, the signer does not repeat the date as here. In 48 23 (see BL VII 126) Φα-  
ου(β) ἰβ belongs to the bankers' subscription (checked on a photograph). 49 15–18 contains after the  
signature a subscription specifying the month, the day, and a sum, but not in the hand of the signer.

The editors assign this subscription to the first hand, but a photograph shows clearly that it is due to a third hand; note also that the subscription is dated a day later than the main letter, suggesting that it was made by bankers to confirm the payment of the requisit sum (see below, 6–10 n., and cf. the identical amount in I 50, a bankers' notice to agronomoi).

6–10 In this note bankers confirm that they have received from the purchaser the sales-tax (*ἐγκέλιος*), payment of which was presumably a prerequisite to the agronomic registration of the sale. Although the tax is not explicitly named, cf. the parallel subscriptions in II 242 31–4, 243 45–9, 333 12–13 (fully published in *ZPE* 170 (2009) 177–8), all of which confirm explicitly the payment of the *ἐγκέλιος*; cf. also the self-standing notice I 50 (with BL VII 126), acknowledging the receipt of the *προσηρονομία* tax for a manumission. I 48 22–4 (BL VII 126) preserves the beginning of a similar note following a letter to an agronomus ordering him to manumit a slave; see also above, 3 n., on I 49.

The formulation of this notice is more compressed than that of 50, 242 31–4, and 243 45–9; it omits the main verb *πέταστος*, the name of the payer (as subject), and the name of the tax, but adds an otiose τοῦ ἐν(ε)στῶτος(ε) ἐτους. 333 12–13 follows an altogether different and even more abbreviated format: *διαγραφὴ δατέ ἐγκέλιου* sum. 49 15–18 (see above, 3 n.) is reduced further to simply *date + sum*.

6 Πολέμων καὶ οἱ μέτοχοι. Polemon is probably the banker named in XXXIV 2720 a (41–54) τῶν ἐπι[στ]ρατῶν ἡς [ ] λέμων καὶ [ ] μέτοχοι. The editor notes ad loc.: 'presumably Π[ο]λέμων (though Τ[ε]λέμων is not palaeographically excluded)'; but the former is surely the likelier restoration: the form Τελέμων is not attested as a variant of the name Τηλέμων, and the latter name is itself very rare; cf. also R. Bogaert, *ZPE* 109 (1995) 15a.

7 τῇ 18<sup>ῃ</sup> Σεβαστῆς (Σεβαστῆ) τοῦ Πανι. The bankers' note to the agronomus is dated to the day after that of the main letter, as in 49 15–16 (see above, 3 n.) and 242 32. In 243 the letter is dated generally to Phamenoth (43), without specification of a day, while the bankers' notice is dated to the 28th of the same month (46). In 333 10, 12, the main letter and the bankers' note date from the same day; cf. also 48 22.

For the 29th as a *ἡμέρα Σεβαστῆ*, which probably commemorates the birthday of Germanicus, see W. F. Snyder, *Aegyptus* 18 (1938) 218–21, and 44 (1964) 146–7, 159. I 39 4 (see BL I 312) and its duplicate II 317 provide another instance from the same year in the month of Pharmouth.

A. BENAÏSSA

### 5177. LETTER OF DIOGENES, STRATEGUS, TO HERACLIDES

47 5B.43/F(4–6)a

9 × 14.5 cm

27 November – 26 December 132

The left-hand side of a letter from Diogenes, strategus, to Heraclides, a sitologus or another strategus (see 3 n., 16 n.). The papyrus was found together with 5178, a letter from Heraclides to the strategus Claudius Diogenes, and it is reasonable to assume that these are the same people. The letter seems to have been sent to acknowledge receipt of official correspondence from Heraclides. Possibly orders or decisions taken by the central administration were being sent around as a circular from nome to nome; cf. P. Ryl. II 78 (157). The official nature of the letter is confirmed by the file number added in the top margin.

Diogenes added the closing greeting in a fast and abbreviated cursive, while the hand responsible for the main body of the text is that of a professional scribe. A third hand wrote the file number at the top and what may be a docket at the foot.

The presence of vertical folds suggests that the letter was rolled up and squashed flat before being sent. Staining on the back may suggest that a seal was placed there, but it seems more likely that it is subsequent to the opening of the letter.

The writing runs along the fibres.

- (m.3?) [ε]ϵ'ζ'  
(vac.)
- (m.1) Διογένης στρατ[ηγός] *name of nome?*  
Ἡρακλεῖδ[ε]ς c. [  
τῶν ἐπι[στ]ρατῶν ἡς [ ] τοὺς χαίρειν.  
5 ἄς ἐπι[στ]ρατῶν [α]ς ἐπι[στ]ρατῶν  
θωσῆ περι τῆς [ ]  
αὐτῶν ἐπι[στ]ρατῶν [ ]  
κεχρονισμέν[η]  
τ[ο]ῦ ἡς (ἐτους) Ἀδριαν[ο]ῦ τοῦ κυρίου  
10 ἐκομιστέμην [ ]  
ἡς' ἐ[στ]ρατῶν. [ ] ἡς [ ] ἡς [ ]  
(m.2) ἐπ[ισ]τολ[ή] [ ] [ ] ἐς εὐχομ[α] διὰ παν[τός].  
(vac.)
- (m.1) (ἐτους) ἡς Ἀντοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τρ[ι]αίου  
Ἀδριαν[ο]ῦ Σεβαστῆ, Ἀδριαν[ο]ῦ n.  
15 (m.3?) ( . . . . . )

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

(m.1) Ἡρακλεῖδην (vac?) . . . . (vac?) . [

9 εϵ'ζ' 12 ευχδ 13 L

(grd hand?) '007.'

(1st hand) 'Diogenes, strategus (of the . . . nome?), to Heraclides, . . . , his dearest friend, greetings.

'The letters you sent . . . concerning the . . . of them . . . letter . . . dated ( . . . ) to the 17th year of Hadrianus the lord, I received . . . so that you may know, my dearest friend.'

(2nd hand) 'I pray for your continual good health.'

(1st hand) 'Year 17 of Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, (in the month of) Hadrianus n.'

Back: (1st hand) 'To Heraclides, . . .'

1 [ε]ϵ'ζ'. The number indicates that this document is part of an archive of official correspondence. It may have been filed by means of a *tabula synkolimasia*, although there is no sign of a join on the left. The position of the number suggests that the letter is preserved to just over half its original width, and this is confirmed by the formulaic supplement at 13. The non-indented lines will then have contained about 22 letters.

2 Διογένης στρατηγός. No Diogenes was previously attested as strategus of any nome in 132, but we do not know who the Oxyrhynchite strategus was at that time; see J. Whitehorse, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt?* (2006) 69.

3 Ἡρακλ[ε]δ[ος]. c. [. After sigma there is an upright, with the surface stripped above; if this was tau, its crossbar will have been lost. α[πολόγου] would suit the indications that in 5178 the strategus Diogenes is Heraclides' superior, as well as the subject matter of that letter. On the other hand, θ[ε]λ[η]τ[η]δ[ος] would suit a letter from a strategus to a strategus (see 4 n.) but would be unparalleled among communications from strategi to sitologi; but see 5178 2 n. If the papyrus had ε[πι]στρατηγός, it should be noted that no Heraclides is attested as strategus of any nome in 132. See also 16 n.

4 θ[ε]λ[η]τ[η]δ[ος] is confirmed by [θ]δ[η]τητ[η] in 11. For the use of this superlative, confined to correspondence between social equals, see Th. Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber und die Gauenverwaltung* (2002) 884–90.

5 ἀε ἐπε[μ]ψ[α]ς ἐπιστ[ρα]τ[η]δ[ος]. Cf. P. Brem. 16.3 (c.117). ἐπε[μ]ψ[α]ς and ἐπε[μ]ψ[α]ς are not possible readings.

5–6 E.g. κα[τα]θ[η]ς ἦ. Not ἀκαλοῦθ[η]ς ἦ, since what follows is not a verb; contrast e.g. XLVII 3345 5B–9 (209) ἀκαλοῦθ[η]ς ἦ ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολῆ κεχρονομένη | εἰς τὸ ιε (ἔτος).

6 [. : λ or λ, less likely x.

7 ἐπιστολ[η]. : e.g. ἐπιστολ[η] (if ἦ is right at 6), ἐπιστολ[η]ς (with 6 περὶ τῆς); apparently not ἐπιστολ[η]ς (with 5 ἀε ἐπε[μ]ψ[α]ς), to judge by the final trace.

8 κεχρονομένη: κεχρονομένη[ς], of the letter mentioned in 7. After κεχρονομένη we expect this letter, rather than κεχρονομένη[ς] or -ης, of the letter mentioned in 5, which seem to have prompted the letter, or ἐπί (2 gen.) and a year date (exceptional simple date in XII 1451 22, if correctly supplemented), which may or may not have been followed by a month date; the year may be accompanied by ἐν-επί or ἀναλόμην/ἀναληθῆς (accusative or genitive). τ[η]ς ἡ (ἔτους) in 9 suggests that the participle may have been followed by εἰς with a month date and then a year date, but this would be against the norm; otherwise restore ἐπί | τ[η]ς ἡ (ἔτους), but this would result in a very short line.

10 E.g. κ[α]τ[α] γράφω (or ἐγράφω σοι), [Γ]ραφά σοι σοι, χ[ρ]εγράφω σοι σοι, ἔ[μ]οι γράφω σοι. 13–14 These lines may have been written by the first hand though in a more cursive style than the body of the letter.

14 Ἰβρι[τα]ίου. This month corresponds to Choiak.

15 The text is badly damaged and largely illegible. The brackets may indicate cancellation.

16 The function of Heraclides is elusive. After a space blank except for traces of the lower part of a descending oblique, perhaps remnants of the common saltire pattern, ε[πι]στ[ρα]τ[η]δ[ος] may be possible: after the putative sigma there is an upright descending well below the line; then a long horizontal at letter-top level with traces suggesting a semi-circle directly under its right-hand part, followed by the feet of one ascending and one descending oblique, and further traces at mid-line and letter-foot level. ε[πι]στ[ρα]τ[η]δ[ος] is more difficult to read: the crossbar of the first tau would extend too far to the right, rho would be oddly placed, and alpha though possible is less likely than lambda. Following a patch on which no traces are visible, before the break, there may be the right-hand half of eta or the junction of a crossbar with the left-hand side of omega (τ[η]ς); π[η] (τ[η]σά) is less likely. Alternatively, Dr Chang suggests that the first set of traces may represent [τ[η]ς] ε[πι]στ[ρα]τ[η]δ[ος], i.e. [ε[πι]στ[ρα]τ[η]δ[ος] Ἡρακλ[ε]δ[ος] [ἔγραψα σοι]]. (There is a gap in our evidence on Hermopolite strategi between mid 130 and early 133; see Whitehorse, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 67.)

M. MALOUTA

5178. LETTER OF HERACLIDES TO CLAUDIUS DIOGENES, STRATEGUS

47.5B.43/F(1–2)a

12 x 22 cm

Early second century  
Plates X XI

This letter, complete except for some loss at the right-hand edge, refers to the transportation of wheat on river boats in mid-June of an unstated year. At this time the harvest was still ongoing, and the Nile at low water. The large shiploads mentioned and the fact that a strategus was concerned with the matter suggest that this was tax grain destined for Alexandria.

The inventory number indicates that 5178 was found with 5177, a letter from Diogenes, strategus, to Heraclides, dated to 132. Though 5178 is not exactly dated, it is probable that we are dealing with the same persons and that the two letters are contemporary. The apparent reference to the day of the Sabbath would be remarkable in the wake of the crushing of the Jewish revolt of 115–17; see below, 14 n.

The script is large and rounded, comparable to PSI V 446 (G. Cavallo et al., *Scritture libri e documenti nel mondo antico* pl. cxi), dated to 133–7; and to two copies of the Ninus romance, PSI XIII 1305 (pl. v), assigned to the first century; and P. Berol. 6926 (GLH 114), also dated to the first century (before 100–101).

The column of text is preserved to nearly its original width. There seems to be no complete letter lost at 6 or 13. Several vertical folds are discernible. To judge from the placing of the address at the very top of the back, corresponding to the left-hand edge of the front, it seems that the regular process of folding was followed (cf. LIX 3989), but that the left edge of the papyrus was not tucked in for protection. It is not likely that there was another flap that was tucked in and then broke off, as the surviving edge of the papyrus is damaged, and the resulting left-hand margin would have been unusually wide.

The writing runs along the fibres.

Ἡρακλείδης Διογένης

ταῖς δεσποτῆσι χαιρεῖν.

τὸ πλοῖον Πάπυο Νικοστρατεῖ[

ἀπέχεν τὸν γόμον (ἀρταβάν) ἕγ[

5 και τὸ Αλεξάντρο Θεοφιλε[

ἀγωγῆς (ἀρταβάν) ἑστῆς ἡδὲ ἐνε[

βάλετο (ἀρταβας) ἑσμῆ. τὰ[ε δὲ

λοπιὰ ἀπὸ γῆς τῆς [

βάθρας τεθέκαμαι [

10 εἰς δὲ τὸ ἄλλο πλοῖον

Αλεξάνδρου Αλεξάνδρ[

ἐνεβάλοντο ἀπὸ τῆς

ἐκθές (ἀρτάβα) ἄς. τοῦ δὲ [   
 Καμβάτου τὸ ἐν ἐτο[ίμωι   
 15 ἤρται εἰς θησαυρῶν. [   
 ἐργάσθαι εἰς εὐχομα[ι.   
 Παννι εἴ.

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

Κλαυδίου Διογένε(ε)ῖ (design) στρατηγῶνι [

1 Ἡρακλείδεσ 4, 6, 7, 13 13 1. ἐξθές 18 διογεν

<sup>1</sup>Heracleides to Diogenes, his master, greetings.

<sup>2</sup>The boat of Pappus of the Nikostratan demotic(?) received its load of 6,300(4) artabas, and that of Alexas of the Theophelean demotic(?), with a capacity of 6,362 artabas, has loaded 5,742 artabas so far. The rest we have placed (away) from the ground of the gangway. And since yesterday they loaded 1,200 artabas onto the other boat, of Alexander the Alexandrian(?). But(?) on the Sabbath(?) what was ready has been taken into the granary.

<sup>3</sup>I pray for your good health.

<sup>4</sup>Panni 16.<sup>1</sup>

Back: 'To Claudius Diogenes, strategus.'

1 Ἡρακλείδεσ. See introd.

2 Διογένεε. Cf. the address on the back (18), which gives him the gentilium Claudius and specifies that he is a strategus. See 5177 2 n.

3 τὸ τοῦ δεσπότη. This is among the earliest instances of δεσπότη in the opening greeting of a letter. Cf. P. Sarap. 21 (126), where a ζευγαλιότης writes to his employer using a similar formula: he states his own name first, and uses κυρίου ξεστότησ of his employer. δεσπότης in this context is virtually equivalent to κύριος, which it supplanted in late antiquity. In general on the use of δεσποτα, see E. Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address* (1996) 95–8. The fact that Heracleides places his name before that of Diogenes suggests that there was no vast difference of status between them, though cf. W. Gik 481 = P. Giss. 1 17 = Sel. Pap. 1 115 = P. Giss. Apoll. 13 (113–20), where the sender, who states her name first, is presumed to have been a slave of the recipient, but one who had a very close relationship with the addressee and his family. In that letter κυρία occupies the place δεσπότη has here. Several other letters to the strategus Apollonius, mostly from officials who worked for him (e.g. P. Brem. 15–16), display the same type of prescript and address. We may posit a close professional relationship between Heracleides and Diogenes the strategus here. Contrast 5177, which shows the typical formula of one official transmitting information to another.

3 Νικοστρατεῖ: apparently Νικοστρατεῖ[ου. (There is a short semi-sinusoid over the epsilon; its purpose is unclear, but its position speaks against an abbreviation.) Cf. 5 Θεοφιλεῖ, presumably Θεοφιλε[ίου. Rather than the names of the men's fathers, these may be Alexandrian demotics. These particular demotics are not attested, but the organization of demes and phylae was a very fluid affair; see D. Della, *Alexandrian Citizenship During the Roman Principate* (1991) 69. We might also consider the possibility that these are the names of the boats, but the forms are not suitable: see P. Heilporn in P. Bingen, pp. 343–4. See also below, 11 n.

4 γάρβο. This is the technical term for tonnage, and denotes the sum total of the cargo on board a ship.

5 Θεοφιλεῖ: see 3 n.

6 ἀγογή. This is the technical term for capacity. The figures given here and at 4 indicate that these were large ships (L. J. Poll, *APF* 42 (1996) 128; for various kinds of ships, see P. Heilporn in P. Bingen, pp. 339–59). The capacity is given with greater precision than usual; according to Poll, such numbers are always rounded, and where the figure is 1200 or more, it is given in hundreds. See also the table in E. Börner, *Die staatliche Korntransport* (1939) 28–9; even in cases where the load (γάρβο) is given precisely, the capacity (ἀγογή) is not, though admittedly in different kinds of documents. To judge by the stated figure, the ship's storage capacity was about 290 m<sup>3</sup> (cf. Poll 13). If we assume that the storage space was about 1 m high (though this may be on the high side: cf. Poll 13) and apply the formulas used by Poll 13–14 in the case of BGU VII 1669, the storage space will have been about 9.4 m wide and 26.5 m long, and the ship will have been roughly 12.5 m wide and 98 m long.

6–7 ἐνὶβάθεσ. Cf. 12. It is unusual to have the ship as the subject of this verb. A person would be expected.

8–9 [ ]βάθεσ. The word is not attested in papyri without a prefix. ἐνο- occurs regularly in literary sources, which gloss both ἀνοβάθεσ and βαβάθεσ with κλίμαξ νεός (Hesych. a 50) and Latin scala (Pollux 1.93). Greek and Roman boats of a certain size normally carried such 'gangplanks' or 'landing ladders'; see L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (1995) 251. References to βαβάθεσ in papyri include P. Cair. Zen. IV 59542 and PSI V 543 (in the context of horse-travel); ἐνο- is found in the accounts of a river-journey, P. Cair. Zen. IV 59753. The word could also refer to a (fixed) pier (see CPR XXX 16.10 and n.), and that is a possible sense here.

10 This line extends slightly into the left-hand margin and has an enlarged initial letter. This presumably indicates the start of a new sense unit.

11 Ἀλεξανδρ[. If there are Alexandrian demotics in 3 and 5, this may be another, viz. Ἀλεξανδρείου (for the uncertain demotic Ἀλεξανδρείου, see Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* ii 125–6 n. 77). Other possibilities include Ἀλεξανδρῆου and even Ἀλεξανδρῶν (patronymic). Note that in XLIII 3111 2–3 (257) a ship-owner is described principally by means of his name and origin: πλοῖου οκαφθηκτανοσ Δουνοκύμμοσ Ἀλεξανδρῆου Δουκατογονέουσ καὶ οὐ χρηματίζεσ.

14 Καμβάτου. A κάμβητος was an earthenware jar and the corresponding liquid measure, between 14 and 22 *sestertii* (P. Mayerson, *IEJ* 46 (1996) 298–61; *BASP* 35 (1998) 215–18; *BASP* 36 (1999) 89–6; N. Krut, K. A. Worp, *BASP* 38 (2001) 79–87). However, as the word appears here in the singular and in a context where thousands of artabas are mentioned, this sense is unsuitable. It is more likely that κάμβητος had to be understood as a spelling of κάμβητος/-α, 'Sabbath', as in VI 903 19 = C. Pap. Jud. III 457d (17); see also the earlier P. Cair. Zen. IV 59762 = C. Pap. Jud. I 10.6, and H. C. Youtie, *Scriptumcular* ii 803–4. This would suit the context, especially since it seems that a contrast is intended between the words ἐκθές and τῶν . . . καμβάτων. A more remote possibility is that this is a personal name, as occasionally elsewhere (SB IV 7291.1 (1 8c) Καββ-; O. Strass. I 590 = C. Pap. Jud. I 115.4 (1 8c) Καμβητον, though this may be a version of the common Καμβηλιον), but in that case the use of the article would be unexpected.

If the reference is to the Sabbath, it is conceivable that Heracleides and Diogenes were Jewish or, less likely, pagans who acknowledged the Sabbath (cf. W. Clarysse, S. Remijnse, M. Depauw, *SCI* 29 (2010) 51<sup>a</sup>–7, at 52). On the assumption that 5177 and 5178 refer to the same persons and are contemporary, the notion of Jewish strategy in Egypt not long after the end of the Jewish revolt of 135/16–17 would be highly problematic, unless some members of the Jewish elite succeeded in escaping the fate of the majority and retained their status in society. But there is nothing in our sources to support this scenario. (On the aftermath of the revolt in Egypt, see M. Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diastroma Judaeum in Tarnol, 116/117 CE* (2005) 186–90.) An alternative interpretation, put forward by Professor Parsons, takes the problem away from the elite: 'Heracleides and his staff (= "we"), organize the arrival of the grain, and the ships' crews ("they"), load it. In 7–9 "we" have put the unloaded remains of the cargo at the landward end of the gangway, from where the crew will carry it across. These two boats belong

to proper Alexandrian citizens (demotics). The third boat (11) belongs to someone who comes from Alexandria but is not a citizen (no demotic: a Jew on the outside?). His crew is Jewish, and they do not work on the Sabbath; so what was ready to be loaded (i.e. on the river bank) has been taken (back) to the granary (for safe-keeping).<sup>1</sup>

10 ἐν ἐνοσίμωι. The space seems tight, but see 3 n.

11 ἐν θησαυρῶν. The granary is the last place where grain was deposited before it was loaded onto ships. It was kept there until all the relevant administrative steps had been taken to give it clearance for further transportation; see A. J. M. Meyer-Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer im griechischen und römischen Recht* (1978) 5-6.

12 Fauni 16 = June 10.

13 Διογένης(ε). There is no mark of abbreviation, unless it is concealed by the common salire pattern, the tops of which survive. The sender's name may have been given at the end of the line, now lost, but the spacing would be tight. If there is room for another word, it may have been the name of the nome after στρατηγῶν.

M. MALOUTA

#### 5179. LETTER TO ATTIIUS

46 3B.49/H(1-7)<sup>c</sup>

8.5 x 6 cm

Second century

This letter to Attius, secretary of the 1% and 2% levy at Ptolemais Hormou, is not dated, but is in a neat hand typical of the second century; see e.g. BGU I 73 (135) and BGU V 1210 (post-149), partially reproduced in W. Schubart, *Griechische Paläographie*, Abb. 35 and 36. It looks like the work of a professional scribe.

The text offers the first indication, albeit indirect, of a customs post at Ptolemais Hormou (Lahun), which was the sole port of the Arsinoite nome on an external waterway (the Bahr Yusuf) and must have been a busy transit point; see further 12 n.

There is a sheet join 3 cm from the left edge. The letter was rolled up from right to left, and the address was written on the top exterior panel with a 1-cm space in the middle for a binding.

Ἀττίωι.

Ἡλιόδωρος ὁ φίλος παρακαλεῖ σε  
 διαπέμψασθαι αὐτῷ τῷ πενθερῷ  
 5 νια λαυτοῦ, ἐπεὶ μὴ τῷ πενθερῷ  
 αὐτοῦ διεπέμψω. (vac.) εἰ οὖν ὡς γρά-  
 φει μήπω τῷ πενθερῷ αὐτοῦ  
 ἀπεστάλη, εὐθὺς τῷ Ἡλιοδώρῳ  
 πέμψον αὐτὰ εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν.  
 10 ἔάν δὲ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀποκατα-  
 σταῆ, ἐκείνοι αὐτὰ ἀποδώσουσι.  
 ἔρρωσο.

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

Ἀττίωι γραμματεῖ (vac.) β̄ καὶ β̄ Πτο(λεμαῖος) Ὀρμου(ου)

5, 9 tail of final alpha extended as line-filler      6 αουου —      12 ϩ      πρ<sup>ο</sup> ορμ<sup>η</sup>

<sup>1</sup>To Attius.

<sup>2</sup>Our friend Heliodorus asks you to have his monthly allowance sent on to him, since you have not had it sent on to his father-in-law. So if, as he writes, it has not yet been dispatched to his father-in-law, send it immediately to Heliodorus in Alexandria. If it is delivered to our people, they will hand it over.

<sup>3</sup>Farewell.<sup>1</sup>

Back: <sup>4</sup>To Attius, secretary of the 1% and 2% at Ptolemais Hormou.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ἀττίωι. The name Attius is rare in the papyri. The only other second-century attestation is in LXII 4335 (128), a receipt to Attius son of Attius alias Apollonius, of Oxyrhynchus, for payment of the cash rent on half of a 50-aroura plot. The decent socio-economic status of this person accords with the possible identification of him—or, less likely, his father—with the Attius of this letter, which would also explain how it ended up in the refuse of Oxyrhynchus.

<sup>2</sup> παρακαλεῖ σε. The phrase also occurs in SB X 10240.3 (41) and XIV 11900.15 (2), in both cases of a request from a third party transmitted through the writer.

<sup>3-4</sup> ἀποπέμψω can be a monthly allowance in cash or kind (Preisigke, *WB* s.v.; O. Berenike I pp. 21-2).

<sup>5</sup> γραμματεῖ β̄ καὶ β̄ Πτο(λεμαῖος) Ὀρμου(ου). On the Arsinoite village of Ptolemais Hormou see the references collected in P. Narm. 2006, p. 43 n. 12. The β̄ καὶ β̄ levy and its collection are discussed by S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (1938) 268-70; P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Customs Duties in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (1987) 19-20, 23-5, 91-7; F. Reiter, *Die Nomarchen des Arsinoites* (2004) 286-59. It was a 3% (1% + 2%) levy on certain goods imported to and exported from the Arsinoite nome, which was collected, alongside the levies for the 'Memphis harbour' (λιμὴν Μέμφεως) and the 'desert guard' (ἀραιοφύλακτα), at customs posts (πύλαι, 'gates') in border villages. It was particular to the Arsinoite nome, at least in its name, and was collected by the nomarch, a private tax-contractor also unique to this nome. For Attius' title of γραμματεῖς β̄ καὶ β̄ we can compare Phanias 'secretary of the Memphis harbour tax' (gate not specified) to whom the letter P. Coll. Youtie I 54 (n/n) is addressed, and the anonymous 'secretary of the gate of Theogonis' (levy not specified) mentioned in the account P. Gen. I<sup>o</sup> 71.16 (early II). The content of this letter implies that the γραμματεῖς β̄ καὶ β̄ had a managerial role superior to the collectors of the levy who were either employees, with various titles, of the nomarch or liturgical 'inspectors' (ἐπιτηρηταί) appointed by the strategus of the nome. The specification of Attius' remit as the β̄ καὶ β̄, comparing the different remit of Phanias, supports Reiter's view that this levy was administered separately from the Memphis harbour and desert-guard levies. His subordinate Heliodorus was probably one of the nomarchy's collectors, in which case this would be the first direct evidence that the post was salaried. Alternatively, Heliodorus may have been an 'arab-archer' (ἀραβοροτόννης), a sort of state policeman stationed at each gate whose salary was paid by the nomarchy. The curt address and farewell of the letter, the use of a professional scribe and his anonymity suggest that the sender was much superior to Attius, perhaps the nomarch himself. He writes, apparently from Alexandria, where he has staff ('our people') to whom Attius is to transmit Heliodorus' 'monthly allowance' or salary. [Professor D. W. Rathbone kindly contributed this note.]

S. RISHØJ CHRISTENSEN



## 5180. LETTER TO ISIDORUS AND TYRANNUS

20 3B.37/J(1-4)b

12.7 × 9.9 cm

Second/third century

The letter deals primarily with two business matters. The nature of the one, however, is obscured by a lacuna in line 2, and the other is only alluded to. The sender does not identify himself in the address. The addressees may be employees of the sender, since he reprimands them for not having done what they were told. The tone of the letter is rather harsh: there is not even the greeting at the beginning or a salutation at the end. For such omissions in a letter of similar tone, cf. P. Tebt. II 424 (iii). A point of interest is the use of the rare word ἀδεξιάστος (6).

The hand is similar to that of the final lines of P. Hamb. I 39 xvi (179); cf. also P. Mert. II 84 (201), or P. Vind. Tand. 23 (225).

The letter is written across the fibres. The vertical breaks in the papyrus and the damage on the left part of the sheet suggest that the letter was rolled from right to left and then flattened. Since the left margin is preserved, this part was probably tucked in for protection afterwards. The back is blank.

Ἰσιδώρω (vac.) [κ]αὶ Τυράννῳ. (vac.)  
 τὸν ἕνα [. . .] ἀπὸ τῶν δύο ὧν εἴχαμεν  
 ἐπεμψα ὑμ[ε]ῖν διὰ τ[ο]ῦ ἀναδιδόντος  
 ὑμῶν τὰ γράμματα, [1-2] τοῦ ἀπὸ Σε[ρ]φύσεως,  
 οὗ ἐνετειλάμεθα τὰ κτήνη τὰ τρία ἀνεῖναι.  
 εἰ δὲ μέλλομεν ἦδη ἀδεξιάστωι εἶναι, οὐ κα-  
 λῶς γέινεται. (vac.) περὶ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν  
 κατ' ὄψιν ὑμῶν ἐνετειλάμεθα, τὰ ἐναν-  
 τία ἐπράξατε, καὶ μέλλει ἦδη τὸ πρᾶγμα  
 ἀργεῖν.

3. 4. 8 l. ὑμῶν

7 l. γίνεσθε

To Isidorus and Tyrannus.

'Of the two that we had, the one . . . I have sent to you through the person delivering you the letter, . . . from Seryphis, whom we instructed to send up the three beasts. If we are now going to be untrustworthy, it is not a good situation. For concerning the other instructions which we gave you in person, you did the opposite, and the matter is now going to be cancelled.'

2 [ . . . ]. At the beginning, the lower part of a left-facing curve; at the end, part of a horizontal, probably of a final N, since the missing word must be in the accusative. We might consider β[ι]αῖος or β[ι]σιος.

ἀπὸ τῶν δύο. For a similar example of the use of the preposition instead of the partitive genitive, see c. g. XXXI 2583 10.  
 εἴχαμεν. It is not clear whether the plural represents the sender alone (ἐπεμψα is used in the

next line) or other persons are included; cf. E. Mayer, *Grammatik* ii.1 40 ff. For the form see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 127-8 (§ 279), and F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 332.

4 [1-2]. τοῦ: probably the name of the deliverer of the letter in the genitive (apparently not β[ι]σιος).

Се[р]φύσεως. This village lay 6.4 km southeast of Oxrythynchus, in the Western toparchy; see A. Benaisa, *Rural Settlements of the Oxyrhynchite Nome* s.v.

3 οὐ: either 'whom' (for the attraction of the relative pronoun cf. 9, 7) or 'where'. The former seems more likely. In the latter case the sender would have given the order in Seryphis.

ἀνεῖναι: ἀνά is used for the movement from village to city, from valley to desert or up the Nile, κατὰ for the opposite.

6 ἀδεξιάστωι. Cf. Ptol. *Titae* 3.14.35, 1416-17 Hübner (in a long list of qualities) ψεύστας, διαβά-  
 λους, ἐπιπόρσιος, βασιλοκτονήτορος, ἐπιβουλοκτονήτορος, ἀπιστοῦς, ἀδεξιάστωι. The sense is 'unreliable' (Robbins); LSJ Rev. Suppl. offers instead 'not to be trusted in an engagement': cf. LSJ s.vv. δεξιά 2, δεξιάζω. The opposite is found at Ptol. *Titae* 3.14.31, 1385-6 Hübner πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλοιους ἐκτινέστωι καὶ ἐκτινέδεξιάστωι.

οὐ καλῶς γέινεται. See LSJ s.v. γίνομαι π 2. Cf. the similar usage of these words in contracts, in the formula περὶ διὰ τοῦ ταῦτα οὐτως ὁρθῶς καλῶς γεγονέναι ἐπερωτηθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀμολογήσαντος; see D. Simon, *Studien zur Praxis der Stipulationsklausel* 47-8.

8-9 τὰ ἐναντία ἐπράξατε. Cf. P. Sakaon 48.6 (343) ταῦναντία διεπράξατο.

10 ἀργεῖν. For the sense of the verb see LSJ Rev. Suppl. s.v. 'to be nullified, cancelled'; cf. E. A. Sophocles, *Lexicon* s.v. 3.

PH. SCHMITZ

## 5181. FOOT OF PRIVATE LETTER

70/77(b)

10.3 × 18 cm

Third century

The papyrus contains the lower half of a letter with salutations. The text consists mainly of personal names in the accusative indicating people who are greeted. The hand is upright, large and clear, but not very practised. A date in the third century would suit.

To judge from the folds, the damage, and the position of the address on the back, the papyrus was rolled up from the right to the left, squashed flat and folded in two (between lines 2 and 3); the address, of which only the last four letters remain, was written on one side of the package.

The text is written along the fibres of a thick piece of papyrus.

ε.π.ι. ] . . . α  
 ε.β. ] ἄτοῦ καὶ  
 τῆν μητέρα μου Θά-  
 εν καὶ τῆν μητέρα  
 μου Κοπροῦ καὶ Ἀπολ-  
 λόνιον καὶ Ρωμαῖν

καὶ Ὁριγένην καὶ Μω-  
ρον καὶ Διογένην καὶ  
Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ἀ-  
δελφόν σου καὶ Δι-  
μητρίαν τὴν γυναῖκα  
αὐτοῦ καὶ Διονύσιον  
τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ  
Κορηθλίον καὶ Ἡρα-  
κλῆν καὶ Σαρατιάδα.  
ἐρώσθαι ὑμᾶς βούλομαι.

Back, downwards along the fibres:

]ωνοc  
2 αὐτο[ ]V 3 See comm. 6 l. Ῥωμαίων 7 μοι: ω corr. from ο 10 after  
δῖ, a smudge or cancelled letter 10-11 l. Δημητρίαν 11 γυναῖκα corr. from γυναικα  
12 -ουc: ο corr. from γ 13 υἱὸν 16 l. ἐρώσθαι

'... his ... and my mother Thaeis and my mother Coprous and Apollonius and Romaeus and Horigenes and Morus and Diogenes and your brother Ptolemaeus and his wife Demetria and his son Dionysius and Cornelius and Heracles and Sarapias. I want you to be healthy.'

1-2 It is tempting to restore τ]όν δι[δελφόν] αὐτοῦ (RLC); cf. 9-10 τὸν ἀδελφόν σου, 13 τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ.

3-5 τὴν μητέρα μου θέσθαι καὶ τὴν μητέρα μου Κοπρού. For this 'extended' use of μήτηρ, see E. Dickey, *Μπαροκκο* 57 (2004) 131-76, esp. 165. The addition of the women's names strongly suggests that these are 'older women with a close connection to the writer', and that neither is his mother. When the term is used in this way, it is often applied to more than one woman: cf. e.g. X 1296 (8-9, 15-16), XIV 1678 (20, 23), LVI 3859 (34, 41), P. Ammon I 3 (vi 12-13, 19-20).

3 μητέρα. There is a short vertical stroke after ε and another after α. The first is slightly below the line and most likely only a slip of the pen, but the latter could almost be interpreted as ι, though the combination αι is written differently everywhere else in the letter.

16 ἐρώσθαι ὑμᾶς βούλομαι. βούλομαι is far less frequent in this phrase than εἴχομαι.

17 ]ωνοc. This ought to be the end of the sender's name.

M. VIERROS

### 5182. LETTER OF CHENTHONIS TO PETOSIRIS

7: B.5/F(b)

11.7 × 20 cm

Early fourth century  
Plate XII

This letter is written on the back of a piece of a Gracco-Latin glossary (5161). Chenthonis, possibly a Christian (see below, 4-5 n.), complains to Petosiris about the offensive behaviour of his father and brother, who have come to the house with

a group of government agents and demanded sixty-five talents in taxes (*canonica*) on a plot of land. The sum mentioned may suit a date in the 330s or 340s (14-15 n.; cf. 11-12 n.). The address on the other side identifies the sender as 'Theon, son', presumably of Petosiris. He may have taken the letter down from Chenthonis' dictation; see further 24 n.

It is unclear how Chenthonis was related to Petosiris, especially since the relevant part of the opening salutation is lost (1). There are two main pieces of evidence: Petosiris' children were with her (8-9; cf. 22, and the use of the first person plural in 12-13); and she is referred to by Petosiris' brother Sarapion as 'the one who holds everything of our brother's' (19-20). If 'our brother' refers to Petosiris himself, Chenthonis will have been his wife: in her husband's absence, she is forced to pay the taxes in his stead. Alternatively, one may conjecture that she had inherited the property of a deceased brother of Petosiris and Sarapion; perhaps she was his widow. On the latter hypothesis, Petosiris' wife will not be mentioned in the letter, except perhaps in the lacunose final line (23).

The hand is not particularly practised. The text is written along the fibres. To judge by the five vertical folds, the letter was rolled up from left to right. After the roll was pressed flat, the address was added in the space between two columns of the glossary on the other side.

κυρίῳ μου (vac.) [  
Xένθωνιc (vac.) Πετοσίρι  
(vac.) χείρειν. (vac.)  
πρὸ μὲν πάντων εἴχομαι τῷ  
κυρίῳ θεῷ ἀπολαβεῖν ce μετὰ  
5 ὑγείας καὶ δλοκληρίας σὺν τοῖς  
παιδίοι σου. θέλω ce δὲ γνῶναι τὰ πέ-  
πονθα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός σου μετὰ τῶν  
παιδίων σου ἔνεκεν τῶν δύο ἀρου-  
ρῶν ἐνέγκας πρὸ θυρῶν τὸν κομ. -  
10 cτην μετὰ τῶν φρουρῶν τοῦ ἐξάκτο-  
ρος καὶ ἀπήγμαι ἡμᾶς τοὺς φό-  
ρους καὶ ἀπατήθημεν μετὰ  
ὑβρεων ἐξήκοντα πέντε τάλαν-  
15 τα ὑπὲρ τῶν κανωνικῶν εἰδῶν.  
ἐστάθῃ μοι γὰρ ὁ πατήρ σου καὶ Σαρα-  
πίων ὁ ἀδελφός σου οἱ σοὶ ὑπὲρ  
αὐτοῦ δεῖδαι τὰ πάντα ἐκ πλήρους,  
ἐπειδὴ ,με ἡ εἴχουκα τὰ πάντα τοῦ ἀδελ-  
20 φοῦ ἡμῶν. [ἀc]ητάεται ce Σαραπο-

c.9 πάντες κατ' ὄνομα  
 c.10 ] ω σε τὰ παιδιά σου  
 c.11 ] ὑμῖσι.

Back, downwards along the fibres:

ἀπόδος Πετοσίρι παρὰ (πὰς) Θέωνος (σας) υἱόσ

9, 24 l. Πετοσίρι 7 l. δ 12 l. ἀπῆγγε 13 l. ἀπῆγγῆμεν 15 l. κανονικῶν  
 16 κα: corrected from ca 17 col: 1 c. 23 18 l. ἠλθῆσε 21 κατο νο μα: spaces left  
 blank because of defects on the surface?

'To my lord . . . , Chenthonis to Petosiris, greetings. Before all I pray to the lord god that I find you in good health and well-being, together with your children. I want you to know what I have suffered at the hands of your father with the prefix *ἕως*, 'daughter of', followed by a personal name, see J. Bingen, *CE* 63 (1988) 167–70 = *Papiri d'Hermaphtis grecque* II (2003) 103–11.  
 The word order is unusual, we would expect τῶ κυρίῳ θεῷ. This prayer may be an indicator of Christianity, though this assumption is not inescapable, see M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto* (1998) 10–12; M. Choat, A. Nobbs, *JGRChSt* 2 (2001–2) 40–51; M. Choat, *Belief and Cult in Fourth-Century Egypt* (2006) 108–12.  
 5–6 On the health wish formula, common in third- and fourth-century letters, see J. L. White, *The Form and Function of the Body of the Greek Letter* (1977) 8 n. 4; G. Tibiletti, *Le lettere private nei papiri greci del III e IV secolo d.C.* (1979) 47–52. The formula used here is unique in that *μετά* with substantives denoting health is employed instead of the usual adjectives or participles, though *μετά ἀλοκληρίας* is similarly used in XIV 1682 (= Naldini, *Cristianesimo* no. 52) 6–8 ἢ μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοια παρέξει τοῦ μετά ἀλοκληρίας σε τὰ στέκια ἀπολαβεῖν.  
 6–7 εἰν τοῖς παισὶ σου. This phrase is used rather loosely: Petosiris is not 'with' the children, who are with Chenthonis herself (8–9, cf. 22). Apparently she intends merely to pray for their good health as well as his. It is considerably less likely that the phrase is to be taken with the more distant εὐχόμενος (4: 'I pray that I find you well—and your children join me in the prayer') or ἀπολαβεῖν (5: 'I pray that I as well as your children find you well').  
 Chenthonis may be the mother of the children, although she writes τοῖς παισὶ σου; in letters between spouses, the couple's children are sometimes referred to with a possessive that includes only one parent' (E. Dickey, *Μεταμορφωσις* 57 (2004) 167).  
 7 θέλω σε δέ. The particle follows an enclitic and occupies third place in the sentence also at 16 ἐστάρθῃ μοι γάρο.  
 τὰ, l. δ. See F. T. Gignac, *Grammatica* II 179.

10–12 ἐνέγκω . . . καὶ ἀπῆγγαι (l. ἀπῆγγε), καὶ appears to be connective, as though a finite verb rather than a participle preceded; cf. Maysr, *Grammatik* II.1 343–4.

10–11 κομ. εἴργω. After *με*, we could read two letters instead of one, but in that case only *-εσ-* would be possible, which would not produce any viable word. *κομπεργῆ*, l. *-εργῆ*, is the less satisfactory reading. Although not a known title of a municipal official and not found in any published papyrus or ostraca, *κομπεργῆ* may be compared to the term *ἀνακομπεργῆ* in XLIII 3124 g (Luc., c.322?) of a conveyer for military *αἰματα*, on which see E. Mitthof, *Annales militaires* (2001) 123. A money-conveyer may have been required for this execution. Mitthof suggests that *ἀνακομπεργῆ* is an alternative designation of the *δημοκληρικῆ*, and the same may apply to *κομπεργῆ* here (or the offices may have had similar functions); cf. XXXCVI 2766 5 (2005) ἀπαγγελθῆναι ἀνακομπεργῆναι.  
 11–12 τὰν φερωνοῦ τὸν ἐξέτασον. That guards were attached to the bureau of *εὐατοῦ νεώτατου* was known for Hermopolis from P. Stras. IV 197 (with Bl. VII 415), in which a *φραυρῆ* ἐξέτασις was sent to assist *προσβούλι* *παῖσι* in summoning tax collectors; they were an inheritance from the office of the strategus (LXI 4116).

On the office of *εὐατοῦ* in Egypt, see Mitthof, *Annales militaires* 143–4, 184; A. Laniado, *Recherches sur les notables municipaux dans l'Égypte protobyzantine* (2002) 113. Although *εὐατοῦ* replaced the *strategi* about 909, they were still frequently, especially in the area of Oxyrhynchus, referred to as *strategi*; see J. D. Thomas, *CA* 70 (1995) 237–9.

13–14 ἀπῆγγῆμεν (l. ἀπῆγ.) μὲν ἄβρεον. The same phrase with the order reversed occurs in XLVIII 3393 12 (965). ἄβρεος seems to refer to inscriptions rather than physical acts; see e.g. VI 903 1, P. Select. 18.10–11, SB I 5235.12–15, and generally Preisigke, *WB* s.v., *BDMG* s.v. 2.

14–15 ἐξέτασον πέντε τάλαντα. The figure given is for tax exacted on two aouras (9–10). R. S. Bagnall, *ZAPh* 115 (1985) 305, suggests that 'at least from the time of Diocletian and Constantine to that of Justinian, the total taxation on arable land seems to have been roughly constant at a level equivalent to about 2½ artabas per aoura'. In our case, the figure for 2 aouras would then be 25½ artabas; if this were paid in money rather than kind, and 65 talents were not an extortionate sum, their market value would not have been much higher than 25½ artabas of wheat (=13 tal./art.). On the other hand, assuming that in the fourth century the taxes in kind may have amounted to 2/3–1/2 of the total tax burden (see Bagnall, loc. cit. 304; J.-M. Carrié in *L'inflationnisme nel quarto secolo d.C.* (1993) 137), 65 talents would not be worth less than 2/3–1/2 art. in the early part of the fourth century, private land in Oxyrhynchus was taxed at 1 art./ar. (Bagnall, loc. cit. 300), which means that the correlated tax burden in money may be equivalent in value to 1/2–1/3 art./ar. The price of wheat (per artaba) was 23 tal. in 327 (PSI IV 309, in a *κομπίθη*, with the market price no doubt higher), 14 tal. in 335 (P. Lond. VI 1914), 24 tal. in 338 (I 85), 50 tal. in the 340s (P. Abinn. 68 of 338–5), and rose to much higher levels in the 350s (334 tal. in P. Princ. III 1879 of c.353); see Bagnall, *Corruption and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* (BASP Suppl. 5: 1985) 64, and P. Kell. IV p. 226. Thus a date in the 330s or even 340s for this letter would suit.

15 ἀνακομπεργῆ (l. κανον-) εἰδέν. *κανονικῶς* εἶδη are no doubt equivalent to *κανονικοῦ φόρου*, attested in I 71 II 6–7 (Ars. 1309) and SB XX 1467.04 (Herm., c.300–310); εἶδη is a general designation for all taxes whether in money or in kind' (P. Cair. Isid. 51.2 n.). The term may refer exclusively to regular taxes in kind and money, excluding levies for military use; in 71 *κανονικοῦ φόρου* are distinguished from *εργασιαστικῶν ἐξέτασεων*, i.e. the *αἰματα* *μισθίου*, levied in kind (see Mitthof, *Annales militaires* 9–9). The *αἰματα* were part of the *canon*, 'fixed tax schedule', but the *canon* was not limited to them; see L. Wenger, *Canon in den römischen Rechtsquellen und in den Papyri* (SAWW 220/2: 1942) 31.

16–17 ἐστάρθῃ μοι . . . ἄρα. The construction is unclear. If ἐστάρθῃ is simply 'he stood', the dative pronoun is hard to account for. Perhaps the sense is rather 'he came upon', 'he accosted', with a dative like that found with ἐβλήθημι (LSJ s.v. B.11.2; cf. also s.v. ἐβλήθημι B.11.1, 'threaten', and *δ*v.1, 'stand in the way', also with a dative). Then a *verbum dicendi* can be understood with ἄρα. ἐπὶ from the main

verb; cf. Mayer, *Grammatik* ii 3 4-5, ἐκράθη may have the same construction at SB XVIII 13867.24 5 (π, ἐκράθη μου, λέλυθη ὄνη (followed by direct speech), where the editors take the dative with the participle. This construction is reflected in the translation above, which assumes that the singular subject (ὁ πατήρ σου) was expanded by the addition of καὶ Καπαίων ὁ ἀδελφός σου; Sarapion is the speaker in the sentence introduced by ὄνη. The alternative is to dissociate Καπαίων from ἐκράθη and make him the subject of a *verbum dicendi* that has been left out.

17 coi (for cō) refers to Chenthonis, not Petoisirs; we are in direct speech here after ὄνη. For ὄνη introducing direct speech (*recitativum*), see LVI 3855 7 n.

17-18 ὄνερ αὐτοῦ, αὐτοῦ refers to Petoisirs ('our brother' in 19-20).

18 δεῖσθαι. The injunctive function of this verbal form would remain the same, whether it is understood as jussive subjunctive διδοῖς or δίδης, or indicative διδοῖς or δίδεις, or even optative διδοῖς, διδοῖς, or διδοίς. For the present system of διδοῖς in papyri, see Gignac, *Grammaire* ii 382-4.

19 .1ei. We expect cō εἰ ἡ ἔχουσα; cf. P. Köln IV 199 4-5 (c.3177) cō εἰ ἡ ἔχουσα τῶν σίτων. It is tempting to read coi (for cō; cf. 17) εἰ, with sigma ligature to a tiny omicron, but we would have to reckon with a sigma with an unusually short cap, and a cō ligature that is very different from that used in coi (7-9, 16, 17, 22). The first letter would be easier to read as omicron, but this would lead to impasse.

19-20 ἡ ἔχουσα τὰ πάντα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν. See intro.

20 Καπαίω-. The right-hand leg of οῖ is extended to the right and then hooked upwards, and omicron is written above it. This probably does not indicate an abbreviation, unexpected in this text.

20-21 Perhaps restore Καπαίων[δ]ῶρος or Καπαίων[δ]ῶρος καὶ πᾶν]τες; there is no room for οἱ coi before πᾶν]τες (cf. BGU II 615.13), still less for αἱ ἑμοῖ (cf. e.g. P. Thomas 14.17). P. Merton II 82.16-19 ἀπα[coi] . . . καὶ πᾶνας καὶ ἡγεῖα may offer a parallel for καὶ πᾶν]τες, even if in that text 'everyone' receives and does not send greetings. Closer perhaps is LVI 3855 23-4 (c.280/81) ἀπα[coi]πρὲ cē] πᾶνας καὶ ἑ[3]ς].

22-3 ] ω looks like the end of an infinitive with itacistic spelling. Of the unread letter only a trace under iota remains, which suggests chi or xi. We expect a farewell formula at this point, and we may consider supplying e.g. ] ω cē τὰ πάντα σου | [εἰχθρας καὶ ἡ] εὐφροίας, but this sequence is without parallel.

24 It is curious that the letter is said to be from Theon rather than from the author, Chenthonis (2), but cf. LXXV 4493, LXVII 4627, and P. Grenf. I 53 = W. Chr. 131 = Naldini, *Cristianesimo* no. 56 (iv). The last is a double letter: the author encloses in her letter to her husband Theodoros a message that she asks him to show to another person. The whole letter is in the same hand, probably that of Theodoros' son, who endorsed it. In 5182 also, the letter and the address on the back appear to be in the same hand, and it is highly likely that Chenthonis dictated the letter to Theon.

The long gap following παρά is at approximately half-height, and may have been intended to accommodate a binding.

R.-L. CHANG

## INDEXES

Figures in raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. Greek words not recorded in LSJ or its Revised Supplement and previously unattested names and places are asterisked. The article and (in the documentary sections) καὶ are not indexed.

### I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

δέσπολος 5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 14	δέσποτος 5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 16	παλαίος [5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 13]
Ἰθῆμος 5131 ii 8 mg	ἐπιπέσι 5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 14	παρὰσεν[?] 5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 3
ἀνακτοῖν 5131 ii 3	εὐρε[ ] 5131 ii 1	πέλος 5131 ii 8
Πλαυδῆμος 5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 26	ἐχεῖν 5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 20	πέλιος 5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 27
ἀλλᾶ 5130 <sup>2</sup> 5 (?)	ἦεν 5131 ii 4	πέπλος 5131 ii 11
ἄλλος 5131 ii 3	ἦεν 5131 ii 4	πέπλος 5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 18-19
ἀνακτοῖν 5130 <sup>1</sup> 6	ἦεν 5131 ii 4	πλοῦτος 5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 8, 14, 15
ἀνθρώπος 5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 18	ἦεν 5131 ii 8	ποι[ ] 5131 ii 10
ἀντίος [5131 ii 17]	ἦεν 5131 ii 8	ποιεῖν 5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 23
ἀποδοκιμάζων [5130 <sup>1</sup> 43]	ἦεν 5131 ii 5	πρὸς 5131 ii 8
ἀντοπος 5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 13	ἦεν 5130 <sup>1</sup> 4	πρὸς 5131 ii 7
αἰέων 5130 <sup>1</sup> 5	ἰανῶς 5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 17	ποιεῖ [5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 12]
ἐχθος 5131 ii 9	ἰνα [5130 <sup>1</sup> 3]	(-)τροφή [5131 ii 22 (?)]
		συγκριεῖν [5131 ii 3 (?)]
βλάβη [5131 ii 13]	Ζωὴ 5131 ii 22 mg (?)	συμβαίνει [5131 ii 3 (?)]
βαστάδιον 5131 ii 5	ἰσος 5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 20	συμβῆται 5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 22
βλα 5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 7 (?)		
βοηθεῖν 5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 17-18	Κάβμος 5131 ii 6	
	καὶ 5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 21 5131 ii 11	ταλαιπώρος [5131 ii 14]
γῆρ 5131 ii 4	κῆμα[?] [5131 ii 13 (?)]	ταβία 5131 ii 8
γενεὰ 5131 ii 6	καταφρονεῖν 5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 15	τεκ 5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 19
γαμοῖν 5131 ii 10	κρίσις 5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 23-4	τῆλιος 5131 ii 24 (?)
		(-)τροφή 5130 <sup>1</sup> 2
δα 5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 5 (7), 6 (7), 7 (7), 12, 16,	λαβῶν 5131 ii 11	(-)τροφή [5131 ii 22 (?)]
19 [5131 ii 9]	λίθος 5131 ii 16 (?)	
δεικνῶναι 5131 ii 10	λέγος 5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 21	ὄμει 5131 ii 9
δεικνύμενος 5131 ii 7	μάλας 5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 14-15	φάος 5131 ii 10
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εἰ 5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 19	ὄν 5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 12	
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εἰς 5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 26	ὄρατος 5130 <sup>1</sup> ii 23	

## II. SUBLITERARY TEXTS

## (a) Chapter on Tetrasyllabic Feet (5159)

Μηροδίτη → 2 6

βραχύς → [ 6 ], 4, 5, 7, 8, [10 11],  
→ 1, 3, 4, [6], 5, 4, 8

δειπνός → 2 3

-δης → 1 10

διδάμβος [→ 2 6]

δισπύθεος [→ 2 6]

διτράχλιος [4 3 3]

δόκιμος → [ 5, 1 2-3 ], 5, 10

δός [→ 10, → 2 5], 7

δύει → 1 4

έκ → [ 5, 1 1 ], 4, 7, 10, → 1 3, [6,  
2 4], 7

έσπευθεκα [[→ 1 4]

έξάχρονος [→ 1 5, 8-9]

έπίτροτος → [ 6 ], 2, 3, 7

έπιχρόνος → 1 2], 5, [9]

Ηρακλήδην → 2 3

και → 2 4, [4], 5, 7, [7], 8, [10,  
→ 1, 1, [4], 5, 1 3], 4 (θίθ),

[7], 8 (θίθ)

κισθροφάνης → 2 2

μακρός → 1 2, 4-5, [7], 8, 10, → 1 1,

4, 2 1, 4, 5, [8, 9]

Μηροδορος → 1 6

-νης → 1 5

-όδαρος → 2 2

οίκος → [ 6 ], 3, 6, 9, → 1 2, [5,  
2, 6], 9

οκτάχρονος [→ 2 2]

παίων [→ 2-3]

πεντάχρονος → 1 [1 2], 4

περὶ → 1 5

πικρὶ → 3, 4

πρόσθετος [4 5]

πρώτος [→ 1 6]

-τάρας [4 1 5, 1 2-2]

τέταρτος [→ 2 3]

τετρακόλλητος [→ 1 5, 4]

τρεπτόχρονος [4 6]

τρίτος → 1 3, [2 1]

τρίτος → 2 7

χοριάμβος [4 1 9-10]

## (b) Commentary on Eupolis, Gasts (?) (5160)

Αγορά 1 13

Αίθρη 1 4, 5

αἰετόσσοι 1 22

αἰσώδης 1 17, [23], 31-2, 11 11

Αἰσχίλος 11 39

Αἰσός 11 32

ἀναλαμβάνει 1 2-3

ἀνάρτος [1 30], 11 7

ἀνί 11 30, 38

ἀπολείπει 11 17 (?)

Χριστόχρονος 11 [4], 29-30

Χριστομήτης 11 32-3

Χριστοπόλιος 11 25

έργον σε δέντρος 1 20

Μαχά 11 12

ἀετηρής 11 33-4

ἀετρα → 11 24 (?)

Μηρείς 1 32

αἰετός 1 33 (?), 11 18

βαλκεθαι 1 3, [13, 13']

γάρ 1 5, 11 26

Δαναός 11 39

δὲ [1 7], 11 4, 15, 18, [24], 27, 29, 40

δέστρο 1 14

δέα 1 27

διασπασί 1 17

Διόνειος [11 11-12]

Διόνειος 11 33

έξμος 11 6

έπιστο 11 [26], 31, 36, 37

έγκωμιόνος 11 34-5

εἰδαι 1 4, [6], 11 8, 28, 31

εἰδέναι 1 14

έκ 1 28, 11 [5, 24], 27, 29

εκ 1 16

έργον 1 28

Εὐραπίδειος [11 7-8]

έθεις 1 19

ή 11 36

-νός 1 19

καί 11 24 (?)

-κατος 11 24 (?)

καλέει 1 24

Καλλικράτους 11 27-8

κινεί 1 25

κόσμητος 11 35-6

κωμωδίων [11 17-18]

λέγει 11 26

μαλακία 11 19

μαργαρίνα 1 23

μυμειθαι 1 18

Νικηφόρος 1 6

Νίκαια 1 [4], 6

όε 11 28 (?), 31

ότι 1 22, 11 37

οἰ: οἰχῆ 11 31-2

οἰδῆ 11 14

οἰσθίς 11 3 (?)

οἰσθίς 11 34

πυροδοκίτρινα 1 15, 24

παρῆ 11 5

περὶ 11 26, 31, 32, 36

ποιμήν 1 17

πρός 1 2, 31, 11 3

προς 1 14

Σάτρος 11 35

εσαστοῦ 11 38

Σάλακος 1 7

στρα- 11 24 (?)

στραγιός 11 40

σύμαχος 1 8

σύνομος 11 28-9

εὐνοχία 1 16

τάχα 11 15

αἰγυροσός 5162 11 25

αἰετόσσοι 5163 1 18

ἀέμος 5162 11 32, 33

ἀπαρτίας 5162 11 39

ἀπυλάτης 5162 11 40

ἀρτος 5162 11 11

ἀστὴρ 5162 11 8

ἀστρων 5162 11 6, 7

Βαρίας 5162 11 34

γλυκοκόκομος 5163 1 10

δεληφί 5162 11 17

διδόμος 5162 11 26

διδόμος [5163 1 17]

διδόμος [5163 1 18]

διδόμος [5163 1 18]

έαρ [5162 11 2]

εἰ 5163 1 17

έκδομίας 5163 1 4, 5

έκδομος 5163 1 17

έκδομος 5162 11 9

έκδομος 5162 11 37

έξφορος 5162 11 38

έξφορος 5162 11 23

έθρος [5162 11 3]

έπιστος 5162 11 19

έπος 5162 11 16

έπος 5162 11 31

καίσιος 5162 11 42

κάμπτρα 5163 1 19

καρπένος 5162 11 30

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## (i) Greek

κίερα [5163 1 16]

κίερα [5163 1 16]

κίερα [5163 1 6]

κίερα [5163 1 6]

κίερα [5163 1 4]

κίερα [5163 1 11]

κίερα [5163 1 14]

κίερα [5163 1 14]

κίερα [5163 1 14]

κίερα [5163 1 14]

κίερα [5163 1 14]

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κίερα [5163 1 14]

κίερα [5163 1 14]

κίερα [5163 1 14]

κίερα [5163 1 14]

κίερα [5163 1 14]

τα 1 4

ταύροτος 11 40

ταύροτος 11 20 (?)

ταύρος 11 24 (?)

(1) ταύρος 11 13 11

τάχρη 1 30, 11 7

τέλερ 11 32

τέλοσθεις [11 17 (?)

θ 11 35

θ 11 11

σάφης [5163 1 10 (?), 11 (?)

σάφης [5163 1 10 (?), 11 (?)

σάφης [5163 1 12]

σάφης [5163 1 18]

σάφης [5163 1 25-7

σάφης [5163 1 28-30

σάφης [5163 1 22-4

σάφης [5163 1 12]

σάφης [5163 1 1-3

σάφης [5163 1 21

σάφης [5163 1 31-3

σάφης [5163 1 28

σάφης [5163 1 14

σάφης [5163 1 15

σάφης [5163 1 11

σάφης [5163 1 27

σάφης [5163 1 13-15

σάφης [5163 1 15

σάφης [5163 1 20-12

σάφης [5163 1 11

σάφης [5163 1 7-9

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σάφης [5163 1 19-21

σάφης [5163 1 4-6

σάφης [5163 1 4]

σάφης [5163 1 22-4

σάφης [5163 1 25-7]

σάφης [5163 1 10

σάφης [5163 1 5

σάφης [5163 1 22]

σάφης [5163 1 41

σάφης [5163 1 3]

## (n) Latin

*accidere* 5161 ii 25-7  
*aerius* or *aether* 5162 iii 3  
*aethus* [5162 i 9]  
*Africanus* 5162 iii 36

*altilides* [5161 ii 1-3]  
*amator* 5161 iv 22-4  
*aquarius* 5162 iii 27  
*aquila* 5162 iii 24  
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*areola* [5163<sup>1</sup> i 19 (?), 20 (?)]  
*areus* 5162 iii 16  
*aries* 5162 iii 20  
*armarius* 5163<sup>1</sup> i 12  
*Asura* [5162 i 7]  
*axister* 5162 iii 35  
*ambrosius* 5162 iii 4

*Matth* 5163<sup>1</sup> i 2

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*caelum* [5162 i 14, 15]  
*calciator* 5161 iv 7-9  
*canis* 5162 iii 30  
*canis* 5162 iii 14

*Cephestrus* 5162 iii 25  
*cernere* 5161 ii 16-18  
*cista* 5163<sup>1</sup> i 16  
*concordia* [5162 i 5]  
*conservare* 5161 ii 28-30  
*consue* 5161 ii 4-6  
*consue* 5163<sup>1</sup> i 9 (?)  
*corona* 5162 iii 28

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*dolphinus* 5162 iii 17

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*geminus* 5162 iii 26

*hiems* 5162 iii 5  
*Horus* [5162 i 6]

*Juventus* 5162 i 13

*lectica* 5163<sup>1</sup> i 10

*lectus* 5163<sup>1</sup> i 16

*leo* 5162 iii 22

*libra* 5162 iii 23

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*lucifer* 5162 iii 30

*mensa* 5163<sup>1</sup> i 14

*ministratus* 5161 iv 10-12

*modius* [5163<sup>1</sup> i 21]

*mosare* 5161 ii 13-15

*paucis* 5162 iii 31

*procurator* 5161 ii 10-12

*revere* [5162 i 21]

*rex* [5162 i 20]

*sagitta* 5162 iii 13  
*sagittarius* 5162 iii 28  
*scabellum* [5163<sup>1</sup> i 11]  
*scopis* 5162 iii 29

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*seruare* 5161 ii 31-3

*situs* 5162 iii [9], 7

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*subsellatus* 5162 iii 40

*suffere* 5161 iv 19-21

*sufflere* [5161 iv 25-7]

*suspelles* 5163<sup>1</sup> i 4, 5

*tacere* 5161 ii 19-21

*taurus* 5162 iii 21

*terrestis* 5162 iii 21

*tacere* 5161 iv 4-6

*trahere* 5161 ii 22-4

*tripes* 5163<sup>1</sup> i 15

*tribare* 5161 ii 1-3

*ultrix* [5162 i 4]

*vadere* 5161 ii 13-15

*vacarius* 5163<sup>1</sup> i 13

*venas* 5162 iii [22], 33

*ver* 5162 iii 2

*vergilis* 5162 iii 11

*vesper* 5162 iii 24

*veto* 5162 iii 24

## III. RULERS AND REGNAL YEARS

## HADRIAN

*Ἡρακλῆος ἑτέριος* [5177 2] (year 17)

*Ἀδριαυανὸς Καίσαρ Τραϊανὸς Ἡρακλῆος Σεβαστὸς* 5177 13-14 (year 17)

## IV. MONTHS AND DAYS

## (a) Months

*Φασιῶς* [5166 9 (?)] 5168 i

5169 :

*Μῖος Σεβαστὸς* 5174 9-10

*Ἡρακλῆος* 5177 14

*Μεχέρ* [5164 ii (?)] 5165 4

5173 8

*Φεμειωθ* [5167 4] 5169 10

## (b) Days

*Σεβαστή* 5174 to 5176<sup>2</sup> 7

## V. DATES

30 July 26 BC or 31 January 25

BC 5164 11

27 January 22 BC 5165 4

23 February - 26 March 20

BC 5169 9-10

12 March 20 BC 5167 4

10 October 18 BC 5169 1

10 October 18 (?) BC [5168 i]

30 July 7 5172 1-2

4 February 26 5173 8-9

28 October - 26 November

BC 5174 9-10

22 June 22 5176<sup>2</sup> [2], 3-5

23 June 22 5176<sup>2</sup> 7-8

27 November - 26 December

152 5177 13-14

10 June (no year given) 5178 17

14 June or 17 or 18 October (year

lost) [5166 9]

## VI. PERSONAL NAMES

*Ἡρακλῆος* see Index III s.v. Hadrian; Index IV (a)

*Μελίταρος*, boat-owner 5178 11

*Ἡλέριος*, boat-owner 5178 5

*Ἡρακλῆος* 5176<sup>1</sup> 1

*Ἡρακλῆος*, s. of Titan 5173 1

*Ἡρακλῆος*, strategus of the Panopolis 5174 11

*Ἡρακλῆος*, f. of Sarapion 5175 5

*Ἡρακλῆος*, s. of Arimion, br. of Arimion 5169 3

*Ἡρακλῆος*, Aesclapiades alias 5164 2

*Ἡρακλῆος*, banker 5165 1-2

*Ἡρακλῆος*, d. of —dorus 5168

[2], 10, [12], 14, 16, [2]

*Ἡρακλῆος* 5181 5 6

*Ἡρακλῆος*, *epigrammatist* of the Middle toparchy 5171 1

*Ἡρακλῆος*, f. of Arimion and Apion 5169 2, 3

*Ἡρακλῆος*, d. of Arimion, six of Arimion 5169 2, 8, 14, 18, 22

*Ἀκκλημάδης*, alias Apion, f. of Ptolemaeus 5164 1

*Ἀκκλημάδης*, banker (?) 5165 :

*Ἡρακλῆος*, secretary of the 1% and 2% levy at Ptolemais Hornum 5179 1, 2

*Ἡρακλῆος*, sailor 5167 :

\**Βενάσιος*, f. of Ptolemais, gf. of Herceus sr, Herceus jr, and Senerceus 5169 6

*Γάιος Τυρρῆσιος*, *praefectus Aegypti* 5171 1

*Γάιος Οὐδύπιδος Καίσαρος*, *praefectus Aegypti* 5175 1

*Δημητρίος*, w. of Ptolemaeus 5181 10-11

*Δημητρίος* see Index VII

*Δίδυμος*, f. of Sarapion 5168 3

*Δίδυμος*, f. of Sarapion and Didymus 5171 (19), (20), (21)

*Δίδυμος*, s. of Didymus, br. of Sarapion 5171 19, [23 (?)]

*Διογένης* 5181 8

*Διογένης* see *Κλαύδιος Διογένης*

*Διογένης* see Index VII

*Διοσκόριος*, s. of Ptolemaeus 5176<sup>1</sup> 3

*Διοσκόριος*, f. of Tryphon 5173 2

*Διοσκόριος*, s. of Ptolemaeus 5181 12

\**Ἐρεκίος* sr, s. of Ptolemais, gf. of Benaias, br. of Herceus jr and Senerceus 5169 3

\**Ἐρεκίος* jr, s. of Ptolemais, gf. of Benaias, br. of Herceus sr and Senerceus 5169 5

*Ἐρατοῦρ* 5173 12

*Ἐρως*, founding 5168 5

\**Ἐδουάριος* 5170 4

*Ζωῖλος*, s. of Theon 5173 2

*Ἡλιδωρὸς* 5179 2, 7

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## AUGUSTUS

*Καίσαρ* 5164 7-8 (year 4), (11) (year 4 or 5) 5165 4 (year 6) 5167 4 (year 10) [5168 1] (year 13 (?)) 5169 1 (year 13), 9-10 (year 10) 5171 7 (year 23), 17 (year 24) 5172 1 (year 30), 3 (year 32) (no titulature, year lost) 5166 9

## TIBERIUS

*Τιβέριος Καίσαρ Σεβαστὸς* 5173 8-9 (year 12) 5174 9 (year 13)

## CLAUDIUS

*Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καίσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς Αὐτοκράτωρ* 5176<sup>1</sup> 3-4 (year 12) (titulature lost) [5175 5] (year 7)

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 Ἡρακλῆς 5181 14, 15

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 Κατίων  
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 5166 7

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 Μηνειδῆσος, tax-farmer (?) 5166 1  
 Μίριμη 5165 2  
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 5182 2, 24

Πενέσιος, s. of Benisios, f. of  
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 Senerctus 5169 8, 9, 10  
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Ποδμήμον, banker 5176<sup>2</sup> 6  
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 Προκλαύσιος, f. of Dionysius, h. of  
 Demetria 5181 9  
 Προκλαύσιος, f. of Hierax 5173 4  
 Προκλαύσιος, s. of Asclepiades alias  
 Apion, overseer of the temples of  
 the Oxyrhynchite and Cyn-  
 oprobite nome (5164 2)

Πρωτίλιος see Λαίσιος Πρωτίλιος  
 Φιλόμονος  
 Ρωμαίος 5181 6

Ραραεῖς, d. of Apion, w. of Ty-  
 rphon 5175 5

Ραραεῖς 5181 15  
 Ραρασιων, br. of Petosiris 5182 17  
 Ραρασιων, s. of Didymus, br. of  
 Didymus 5171 [19] (?), 20, 21  
 Ραρασιων, s. of Apollonia 5168 2  
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 Ραρασιώπυρος 5182 20-21 (?)

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 Θηβείς 5169 2

Τετρού θωσίσιος 5171 3

Κισσοπώλιθος (νομός) (5164 4)

Μακεδόν 5166 3 5168 3

μετ' απογραφῆς 5171 1

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 Hercules jr, minor 5169 11  
 Κύρος, f. of Syrus 5175 4  
 Κύρος, s. of Syrus [5175 3]  
 Κύκωθρος see Index VII

Τιβέριος see Index III s.v. Tiber-  
 rius, Claudius  
 Τισάν, f. of Antei 5173 1  
 Τροισιάνος see Index III s.v. Hadrian  
 Τρόβων, f. of Philicus 5166 2  
 Τρόβων, s. of Dionysius, h. of  
 Sannatus, wester 5175 2

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 Τυρράσιος see Γάιος Τυρράσιος

Φάμονιος, katagorammatas of Ta-  
 nais and the hamlet of Istrou  
 5171 2  
 Φαλκικός, s. of Tyrhoun, Macedo-  
 nian, cavalry-commander over  
 ten 5166 2, 6

Φιλόμονος see Λαίσιος Πρωτίλιος  
 Φιλόμονος  
 \*Χίνθωσις, w. (?) of Petosiris  
 5182 2

Υβρ—, banker 5173 3

Υβρίωνος 5181 7  
 Υβρίων, s. of Phitarchus 5172 4  
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 [1-2] τος (genitive) 5180 4  
 [1ω 5181 17

\*Νικοστράτειος (?) [5178 3]

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 9 5173 3 5175 3

Παντοπώλιθος (νομός) (5174 1)  
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(ἀρτάβη) 5178 4, 6, 7, 13

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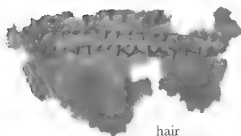
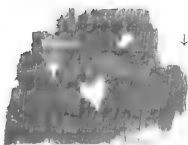
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## XIV. CORRECTIONS TO PUBLISHED TEXTS

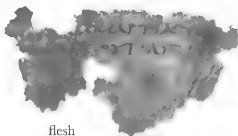
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 P. Oxy. I 38 ε 5175 α n  
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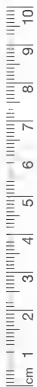


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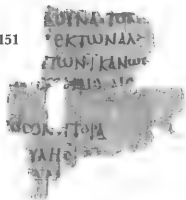


flesh

5129



fr. 1



5151

5156



fr. 2

5130



fr. 2

Handwritten text in an ancient script, possibly cuneiform, on a fragment of material.

fr. 1

A large vertical fragment of handwritten text, likely cuneiform, showing several lines of script.

fr. i

The largest fragment, a broad, roughly rectangular piece of material with extensive handwritten text in cuneiform script.

fr. 3

fr. 4

Two small fragments of handwritten text, one to the left and one to the right of the central fragment.

fr. 5

A small, dark fragment of material with some faint markings.

fr. 6

A small, dark fragment of material, similar to fr. 5.

fr. 7

A small, dark fragment of material, similar to fr. 5.

fr. 8

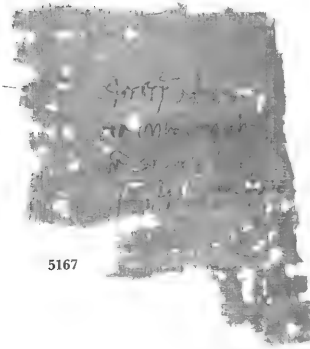
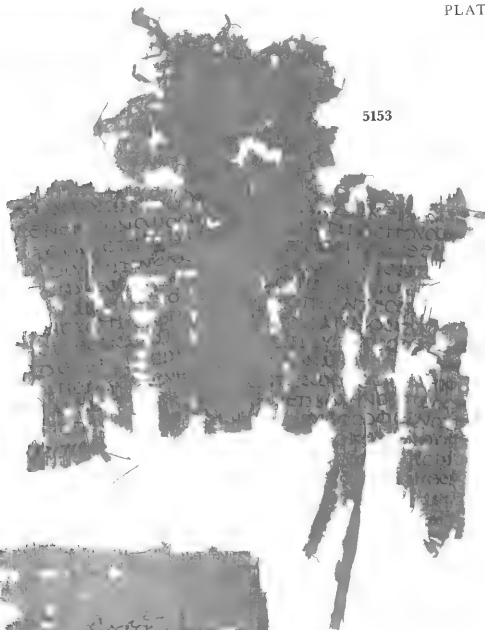
A small, dark fragment of material, similar to fr. 5.

fr. 9

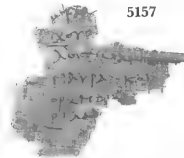
A very small, dark fragment of material, similar to fr. 5.



5153



5167



5157

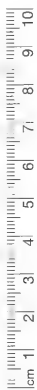
<p>             190... ΔΑΝ ΔΑΛΛ              200... ΠΛΟΜΕΣ...              210... ΑΓΓΗΙΑ...              220... ΑΡΧΟ...              230... ΚΕΥ...              240... ΤΟΙ...              250...              260...              270... ΛΕ...              280... ΠΡΟΣ...              290... Ν...              300... ΤΥ...              310... ΟΙ...              320... ΜΗ...              330... ΤΟ...              340... Τ...              350... Τ...              360... Τ...              370... Τ...              380... Τ...              390... Τ...              400... Τ...              410... Τ...              420... Τ...              430... Τ...              440... Τ...              450... Τ...              460... Τ...              470... Τ...              480... Τ...              490... Τ...              500... Τ...              510... Τ...              520... Τ...              530... Τ...              540... Τ...              550... Τ...              560... Τ...              570... Τ...              580... Τ...              590... Τ...              600... Τ...              610... Τ...              620... Τ...              630... Τ...              640... Τ...              650... Τ...              660... Τ...              670... Τ...              680... Τ...              690... Τ...              700... Τ...              710... Τ...              720... Τ...              730... Τ...              740... Τ...              750... Τ...              760... Τ...              770... Τ...              780... Τ...              790... Τ...              800... Τ...              810... Τ...              820... Τ...              830... Τ...              840... Τ...              850... Τ...              860... Τ...              870... Τ...              880... Τ...              890... Τ...              900... Τ...              910... Τ...              920... Τ...              930... Τ...              940... Τ...              950... Τ...              960... Τ...              970... Τ...              980... Τ...              990... Τ...              1000... Τ...         </p>	<p>             190... ΤΟΥ...              200... ΔΕ...              210... Π...              220... Τ...              230... Τ...              240... Τ...              250... Τ...              260... Τ...              270... Τ...              280... Τ...              290... Τ...              300... Τ...              310... Τ...              320... Τ...              330... Τ...              340... Τ...              350... Τ...              360... Τ...              370... Τ...              380... Τ...              390... Τ...              400... Τ...              410... Τ...              420... Τ...              430... Τ...              440... Τ...              450... Τ...              460... Τ...              470... Τ...              480... Τ...              490... Τ...              500... Τ...              510... Τ...              520... Τ...              530... Τ...              540... Τ...              550... Τ...              560... Τ...              570... Τ...              580... Τ...              590... Τ...              600... Τ...              610... Τ...              620... Τ...              630... Τ...              640... Τ...              650... Τ...              660... Τ...              670... Τ...              680... Τ...              690... Τ...              700... Τ...              710... Τ...              720... Τ...              730... Τ...              740... Τ...              750... Τ...              760... Τ...              770... Τ...              780... Τ...              790... Τ...              800... Τ...              810... Τ...              820... Τ...              830... Τ...              840... Τ...              850... Τ...              860... Τ...              870... Τ...              880... Τ...              890... Τ...              900... Τ...              910... Τ...              920... Τ...              930... Τ...              940... Τ...              950... Τ...              960... Τ...              970... Τ...              980... Τ...              990... Τ...              1000... Τ...         </p>
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5160 (reduced)

5161

Fragment of a papyrus scroll with Greek text, showing two columns of writing. The text is heavily obscured by dark ink or damage, but some words are faintly visible, including "ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΙΑ" (Eucharistia) and "ΑΓΙΟΥ" (Agioy).

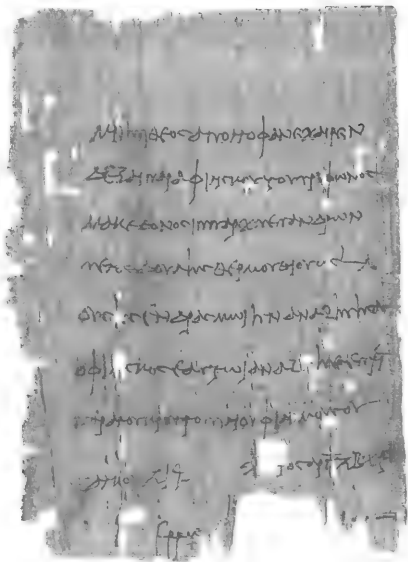


5162 (reduced)

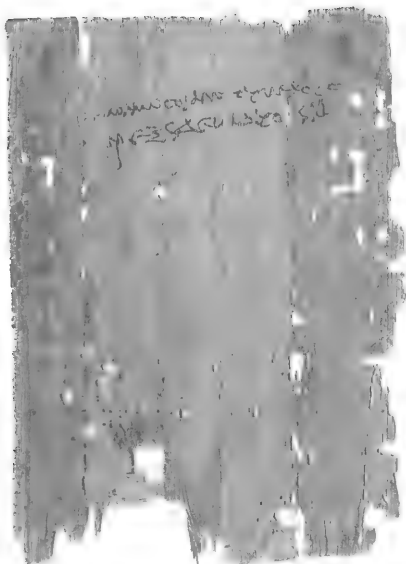


cm 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10



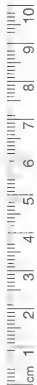


5166 front



5166 back

5178 front



ΠΑΚΛΕ ΝΙΟ ΔΙ  
 ΤΙ ΔΕΚΤΩΤΟ  
 ΤΥΠΛΟΙΟΝΤΙΝΙΟ ΝΙΚΟΣΤΑΤ  
 ΝΤΙΓΟΧΕΝΤΟΝΙΟΝΝΟΝ  
 ΚΑΠΟΔΕΧΑΙΟΘΕΟΦΙΛ  
 ΝΙΟΝΤΟΝ ΤΕΡΑΔΗΚΕΝΤ  
 ΒΑΝΤΟΝ ΤΑΝΤ  
 ΧΟΠΟΝΤΟΝ ΤΗΝ  
 ΣΤΡΑΤΗΡΕΙΚΑΝ  
 ΕΙΣΔΕΤΑΧΑΝΤΟΝ  
 ΔΕΞΑΝΤΟΝ ΤΕΡΑΝ  
 ΕΝΕΒΑΛΟΝΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ  
 ΕΧΟΝΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΤΩΝ  
 ΕΜΕΘΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ  
 ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ  
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 ΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ

5178 back



5182

Κατωτέρως

ΧΕΡΑΙΩΝ



*[The main body of the document is a large, dark, heavily stained and damaged fragment of a document, likely papyrus or parchment. It contains several lines of handwritten text in Greek cursive script, which is mostly illegible due to the damage and fading. The text appears to be organized into columns or sections, with some larger characters at the top that may represent a title or header. The fragment is roughly rectangular with irregular, torn edges.]*

*[A smaller, separate fragment of the document is located at the bottom right of the main fragment. It contains a few lines of handwritten Greek text, also in cursive script, which is partially legible. The text appears to be a continuation or a separate section related to the main document.]*

- R. Stoneman, *The Alexander Romance. From History to Fiction*, in: J. R. Morgan/R. Stoneman (Hrsg.), *Greek Fiction. The Greek Novel in Context*, London – New York 1994, S. 117–129
- W. J. Tait, *Papyri from Tebtunis in Egyptian and in Greek*, London 1977
- W. C. Till, *Koptische Kleinliteratur 1–4*, in: *ZÄS* 77, 1942, S. 101–111
- J. Vandier, *Le papyrus Jumilhac*, Paris 1960
- U. Verhoeven, *Post ins Jenseits: Formular und Funktion altägyptischer Briefe an Tote*, in: A. Wagner (Hrsg.), *Bote und Brief. Sprachliche Systeme der Informationsübermittlung im Spannungsfeld von Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit, Nordostafrikanisch-westasiatische Studien 4*, Frankfurt am Main 2003
- P. Vernus, *Chants d'amour de l'Égypte antique*, Paris 1992
- J. Van der Vliet, *Satan's Fall in Coptic Magic*, in: P. Mirecki/M. Meyer (Hrsg.), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, RGRW 129, Leiden 1995, S. 401–418
- M. Waegeman, *Amulet and Alphabet: Magical Amulets in the First Book of Cyranides*, Amsterdam 1987
- M. Weber, *Ein koptischer Liebeszauber*, in: *Enchoria* 5, 1975, S. 115–118
- O. Weinreich, *Der Trug des Nektaneos. Wandlungen eines Novellenstoffes*, Leipzig Berlin 1911
- J. u. A. Westenholz, *Help for Defected Suitors. The Old Akkadian Incantation MAD V 8*, in: *Orientalia* 46, 1977, S. 198–219
- J. J. Winkler, *Der gefesselte Eros. Sexualität und Geschlechterverhältnis im antiken Griechenland*, übers. von Sebastian Wohlfeil, Marburg 1994, S. 109–148 (Original: J. J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire*, New York 1990)
- W. H. Worrell, *Coptic Magical and Medical Texts*, in: *Orientalia* 4, 1935, S. 1–37 und 184–194
- D. Wortmann, *Neue magische Texte*, in: *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168, 1968, S. 56–111
- J. Zandee, *Seth als Sturmgott*, in: *ZÄS* 90, 1963, S. 144–156
- H. Zimmern, *Der Schenkenliebeszauber*. Berl. VAG 9728 (Assur) – Lond. K. 3464 – Par. N. 3554 (Ninive), in: *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 32, 1918/19, S. 164–184

## Iatromagie: Magie und Medizin im griechisch-römischen Ägypten

Laura Willer

Die heutzutage vorherrschende rationale Denkweise, die nicht selten als die einzig richtige angesehen wird, bringt die antike Medizin häufig in Verbindung mit Magie, also angeblich irrationalen Heilungsversuchen. Dabei wird vergessen, dass auch in unserer Zeit kranke Menschen z. B. um Genesung beten, also eine religiöse Handlung durchführen. In einem solchen Fall wird die dadurch hervorgerufene, positive Wirkung auf die Psyche des Leidenden akzeptiert, ohne ihr einen negativen Beigeschmack zu verpassen. Die heute getrennten Bereiche Medizin, Magie und Religion waren in der Antike noch stärker miteinander verwoben.<sup>1</sup>

Die von Hippokrates geprägte griechische Medizin, die den Ursprung unserer heutigen Medizin bildet, hielt mit der Eroberung Ägyptens durch Alexander den Großen im Land des Nils Einzug, womit die Kunst der Hippokratiker auf die traditionellen ägyptischen Heilmethoden traf. Obwohl es in beiden Kulturen einen fließenden Übergang zwischen rationaler und magisch angehauchter Heilkunst gab – eine Klassifizierung, die schon in der Antike vorgenommen wurde –, wurden magische Heilmethoden von den Hippokratikern kritisiert wie heutzutage die Naturmedizin von den Schulmedizinern, aber trotzdem von ihnen angewandt.<sup>2</sup> Dabei befürchten sich die Anhänger wissenschaftlicher Medizin auf eine Lehre, die vollkommen ohne Götterapparat auskam, während in zaubermedizinischen Kreisen Beschwörungen und Reinigungsrituale verordnet wurden, da die Ursache von Krankheiten ein gestörtes Verhältnis zu den Göttern sei.<sup>3</sup> Diese theoretische Opposition existierte auch noch in der christlichen Spätantike, obwohl die tägliche Praxis ganz gegenteilig aus der Vermischung beider Extreme bestand, in der selbst Heilige bei „Schulmedizinern“ Hilfe suchten und es auch Heilkundige gab, die sich Wissen in beiden Bereichen erworben hatten.<sup>4</sup> Christopher Faraoe zeigt den fließenden Übergang und die gegenseitige Beeinflussung der beiden künstlich aufgestellten Kategorien Magie und Medizin deutlich anhand zweier Beispiele, nämlich des Einflusses, den medizinische Fortschritte auf sogenannte magische Heilmethoden haben konnten, und anhand der systematischen Herangehensweise innerhalb beider Kategorien.<sup>5</sup>

Da nicht nur die Ägypter, sondern auch die Griechen magische Formeln zur Krankheitsbekämpfung anwandten, vermischten sich nach der Eroberung Ägyptens

1 Für Literatur zu diesem Thema s. Anm. 1 in Dasen, *Magie*.  
 2 Draycott, *Healing*, I, 95–97; Furley, *Besprechung*, 87f. Lang, *Society*, 184, 228.  
 3 Furley, *Besprechung*, 82f. Edelstein, *Religion*, 219f.  
 4 Maguire, *Art and Holy Powers*, 197. Faraoe, *Magie and Medicine*, 153.  
 5 Faraoe, *Magie and Medicine*.

Formeln beider Kulturkreise, wobei auch Zauberwörter aus anderen Sprachen eingearbeitet wurden. Dabei setzte sich die ägyptische Tradition durch, dass nur das richtig gewählte Wort Wirkung herbeiführt.<sup>6</sup> Doch die Vermischung beider Kulturen fand in allen die Medizin betreffenden Bereichen statt.<sup>7</sup> So wirkte die für die Ägypter gängige Spezialisierung der Ärzte auf ihre griechischen Kollegen, welche wiederum nicht nur ihre Landleute, sondern auch eine einheimische Klientel zu versorgen hatten.<sup>8</sup> Dabei fanden auch die typisch ägyptischen, tierischen Organe als Zutaten Eingang in die griechische Medizin, während wiederum in ägyptischen Tempeln medizinische Abhandlungen aus dem griechischen Kulturkreis gefunden wurden, ebenso wie spätmedonische Rezepte, die typisch griechische Ingredienzien aufweisen.<sup>9</sup> Wenn zuletzt die den Griechen bekannte wissenschaftliche Heilkunde versagte, wandten sie sich an ägyptische Heilgötter wie Imhotep, den ägyptischen Asklepios, – und das bis in die Kaiserzeit hinein.<sup>10</sup>

Allerdings nahm die Durchmischung mehrere Jahrhunderte in Anspruch. Die ägyptischen Heilkundigen praktizierten den gesamten Hellenismus über und sogar bis in die Kaiserzeit hinein bevorzugt nach den ihnen von alters her vertrauten Methoden.<sup>11</sup> Die Grundorganisation und Intensität der medizinischen Versorgung dürfte sich zumindest zu Beginn des Hellenismus zunächst kaum geändert haben außer aus fiskalischen Gründen. So führte die Ptolemäer das *iatrikon* ein, das zumindest von ca. 310–175 v. Chr. belegt ist. Es war eine den Steuer-Griechen auferlegte Ärztesteuern, die der Sicherstellung der medizinischen Versorgung außerhalb der griechischen *poieis* diene, indem die Abgaben den im Hinterland tätigen Ärzten zugute kam, um ihre Residenz vor Ort zu sichern.<sup>12</sup>

Im neu gegründeten Alexandria mit seiner einzigartigen Bibliothek und dem Museum bildeten sich hervorragende Bedingungen – wie es sie im griechisch-römischen Bereich nie zuvor gegeben hatte – zur Ausbildung und Entwicklung der verschiedensten Wissenschaften. In diesem Umfeld entstanden die beiden berühmten Ärzteschulen des Herophilus und Erasistratos, von denen Ersterer die Zusammenhänge zwischen den Organen und den Pulsschlag entdeckte, während der Zweite eine *plethora*-Lehre aufstellte, die zur Folge hatte, dass er einem Großteil der Krankheiten mit Behandlungen wie Abführmitteln, Diäten, Aderlässen etc. zu Leibe rückte, da seiner Theorie nach alle Leiden eine Übersättigung verschiedener Organe zur Ursache hätten.<sup>13</sup>

6 Röhmer, Einleitung, 2.

7 Zur Durchmischung Marganne-Mélaud, *Médecine*, 2723–2725.

8 Fräser, *Alexandria*, 374f; Draycott, *Healing*, 3f.

9 Andorlini, *Prescription*, 24; Jördens, *Texte*, 340; Lang, *Society*, 135.

10 Jördens, *Texte*, 323; Fräser, *Alexandria*, 374.

11 Marganne-Mélaud, *Médecine*, 2725; Andorlini, *Prescription*, 23f; Jördens, *Texte*, 317; Draycott, *Healing*, 4; Lang, *Society*, 136.

12 Nutton, *Medicine*, 9; Fräser, *Alexandria*, 373f; Lang, *Society*, 232–239.

13 Meyer-Steinig – Sudhoff, *Medizin*, 75; 77f. 81f. Zu Herophilus s. H. von Staden, *Herophilus. The Art*

Auch wenn daraus klar wird, dass manches, was in der Antike als wissenschaftliche Medizin galt, in unseren modernen Augen als Aberglaube abgetan wird, lässt sich der fortschrittliche Charakter der naturwissenschaftlich tätigen alexandrinischen Mediziner nicht leugnen. Durch systematische, pathologische Untersuchungen der menschlichen Anatomie, die Celsus zufolge an Verbrechern im lebenden Zustand durchgeführt werden durften, erhielten sie detaillierte Kenntnisse, aus denen sie chirurgische Techniken entwickelten.<sup>14</sup> Dabei wandten sie zum ersten Mal Aderabbindungen und Narkosen an – letztere mit Hilfe der betäubenden Wirkung der sagenumwobenen Alraunwurzel.<sup>15</sup> Diese Entdeckungen befähigten sie, komplizierte Operationen mit entsprechenden Instrumenten durchzuführen.<sup>16</sup> Von Votiven aus dem gesamten Ertrückungsgebiet der griechisch-römischen Antike wissen wir um die detaillierten Kenntnisse der inneren Organe.<sup>17</sup>

Gemeinsam war beiden alexandrinischen Ärzteschulen, die sich bis in islamische Zeit hinein hielten, dass ihre Lehren auf der Anatomie als Grundlage fußten.<sup>18</sup> Während Erasistratos und Herophilus noch mit der Medizin in ihrer Gesamtheit beschäftigt waren, entwickelte sich unter ihren Schülern eine Spezialisierung, vor allem in den Bereichen Chirurgie, Augen- und Zahnheilkunde, die sich bis in die Spätantike hinein fortsetzte.<sup>19</sup> Diese Entwicklung in Alexandria dürfte auch im Umland nicht ohne Folgen geblieben sein, wie Papyrusfragmente medizinischer Handbücher zeigen, die im Hinterland gefunden wurden.<sup>20</sup>

Mit der Eingliederung Ägyptens in das Römische Reich kamen zu der Mischung aus ägyptischer und griechischer Heilkunde noch römische Anwendungen hinzu.<sup>21</sup> Ab dieser Zeit wurden die meisten der überlieferten Handbücher zur Medizin verfasst, wozu sowohl das Werk des Celsus, der zur Zeit des Tiberius schrieb, als auch das unter dem Namen *De materia medica* überlieferte Herbarium des Dioskurides

of Medicine in Early Alexandria. Edition, Translation and Essays, Cambridge New York 1989 (non vidi).

14 Celsus, *Med. Proem.* 23: *longaque optime fecisse Herophilum et Erasistratum, qui nocentes homines a regibus et carcere accipitibus sine inciderint, considerantissime etiam non spiritu remanente in, quae natura ante eluxisset.* Röhmer, *Einleitung*, 1; Meyer-Steinig – Sudhoff, *Medizin*, 76.

15 Meyer-Steinig – Sudhoff, *Medizin*, 87f. Zur Alraunwurzel siehe H. Biedermann, *Medicina Magica. Metaphysische Heilmethoden in spätantiken und mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, Graz 1972, 28f.

16 Nutton, *Medicine*, 5.

17 Vgl. nur etwa das Votiv einer Lunge, bei dem die Bronchien deutlich zu erkennen und die Lungenbläschen angeleitet sind (Abb. in Meyer-Steinig – Sudhoff, *Medizin*, 77). Eine Liste mit Votiven findet sich in F. T. van Straten, *Gifts for the Gods*, in: H. S. Versnel (Hrsg.), *Faith Hope and Worship. Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World. Studies in Greek and Roman Religion* 2, Leiden 1981, 65–151, bes. 105–151. von Hesberg, *Werkzeug*, 120. Solche Votive wurden auch noch in frühbyzantinischer Zeit gestiftet: Vikan, *Art, Medicine, and Magic*, 66f.

18 Meyer-Steinig – Sudhoff, *Medizin*, 85f.

19 Baadorf, *Spezialärzte*, 231; Meyer-Steinig – Sudhoff, *Medizin*, 76.

20 Röhmer, *Einleitung*, 2; Nutton, *Medicine*, 7.

21 Zur Vermischung ägyptischer, griechischer und römischer Heilmethoden Draycott, *Healing*, 12, 39, 96–99.

zählt, der sich um 65 n. Chr. mit Heilmitteln beschäftigte.<sup>22</sup> Das wohl berühmteste Werk der nachchristlichen Antike entstammt dem 2. Jh. und der Feder Galens. Alexander Trallianos verfasste im 6. Jh. medizinische Abhandlungen, und Marcellus verbreitete um 400 n. Chr. römische Beschwörungen und magische Praktiken, die in der Heilkunde Anwendung fanden.<sup>23</sup> So gibt er u. a. als Heilmittel Anweisungen zur Amuletherstellung, wie sie auch aus den Papyri bekannt sind.<sup>24</sup>

Bereits Plinius d. Ä., der umfangreiche Bücher über Heilmittel aus der Tier- und Pflanzenwelt kompilierte, nahm darin großzügig Anweisungen auf, die wir heute als magisch bezeichnen würden, obwohl er magische Praktiken eigentlich ablehnte. Dies verdeutlicht sein ambivalentes Verhältnis zur Magie.<sup>25</sup> Denn obwohl er sogar berichtet, dass die Magie aus der Medizin geboren worden sei, und zwischen echter *medicina* und trügerischer *magia* unterscheidet, fließen diese beiden Kategorien bei seiner Auflistung verschiedener Heilmethoden nahtlos ineinander.<sup>26</sup>

Parallel zu den Handbüchern nehmen in der römischen Zeit die Belege für als magisch klassifizierte Texte und Praktiken zu, besonders intensiv im 3. und 4. Jh. n. Chr.<sup>27</sup> Dabei zeigt sich die Bedeutung der Papyri für unser heutiges Wissen um die antike Medizin, die in den meisten Fällen mit sogenannten magischen Anwendungen kombiniert wurde. Neben Amuletten und Beschwörungen sind u. a. Bruchstücke umfangreicher Abhandlungen, Notizen von Laien und Rezepte erhalten.<sup>28</sup> Allein die in den PGM-Bänden publizierten Papyri, welche die Zeit zwischen 30 v. und 600 n. Chr. umfassen, nennen über 450 pharmazeutisch aktive Pflanzen, Mineralien, tierische und andere Produkte.<sup>29</sup>

Unklar bleibt jedoch, was für eine Rolle die vorgeschlagenen Rezepte in der Praxis wirklich spielten. Manche Inhaltsstoffe dürften für den Großteil der Bevölkerung einfach zu teuer gewesen sein, andere dagegen unbekannt oder schwer zu beschaffen. Seltene Ingredienzien mussten in Alexandria oder Koptos bestellt werden, da manche Pflanzen im ägyptischen Klima gar nicht gedeihen konnten.<sup>30</sup> So nahm in

22 Römer, Einleitung, 2. Moog, Gladiatorenblut, 154.

23 Ömerfors, Formeln, 167f.

24 Marcellus, De Medicamentis VIII.59: *In lamella aurea cui cuprea scribes opovo ovovon et dabts vel suspendis ex licio collo gestandum praeligamen ei qui leppit, quod poterit et diti volebit, si observata caritate die Lunae illud facias et ponas.* PGM VII (3-5. Jh.; zur Datierung s. F. Maltomini, P.Lond. 121 (= PGM VII), 1: 221; Homeromanteion, Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 106, 1993, 107 Anm. 1) bietet einige Beispiele zur Amuletherstellung.

25 Rothachik, Iatromagie, 10; Kotansky, Incantations, 113f; Ömerfors, Formeln, 167f.

26 Plin. HN XXX.2: *Natum primum e medicina nemo dubitabit ac specie salubari impresse velut altorem sanctoremque medicinam.* Otto, Magie, 231-234. Plinius ist bei Westem nicht der einzige antike Autor, der ein ambivalentes Verhältnis zur Magie hatte (Otto, Magie, 619f.).

27 Michel, Magische Getrennen, 230.

28 Nutton, Medicines, 7; Andorlini, Prescription, 23.

29 Scarborough, Pharmacology, 156f.

30 Nutton, Medicines, 7f. 10: Eine systematische Betrachtung der in Ägypten vorkommenden Heilpflanzen bietet R. Germer, Handbuch der altägyptischen Heilpflanzen, Philippika 21, Wiesbaden 2008. Eine Liste mit pflanzlichen und mineralischen Arzneien und ihren Wirkungen findet sich in Nilus 13,

der römischen Zeit der Import von Heilkräutern aus dem Vorderen Orient und Indien offenbar zu.<sup>31</sup>

Das Wissen machte einen Heiler aus, egal ob es das Zauberwort war, die richtige Mischung von Ingredienzien oder das Wissen um passende Zauberwörter war.<sup>32</sup> Da die Grenzen zwischen Magie und Medizin fließend waren, lässt sich bei den vielen Rezeptfragmenten, die rein aus Inhaltsstoffen ohne weitere Angabe wie einem Titel oder einem Anwendungshinweis bestehen, nicht unterscheiden, ob sie für eine medizinische oder magische Anwendung gedacht waren – soweit eine strikte Klassifikation überhaupt möglich ist –, wenn nicht gerade typisch magische Ingredienzien wie Menstruationsblut, Ohrenschmalz, Haare oder dergleichen enthalten waren. Dabei muss jedoch bedacht werden, dass viele Zutaten auf Grund ihres Symbolgehaltes empfohlen wurden.<sup>33</sup>

Außer diesen kommen in den Rezepten jedoch auch Inhaltsstoffe vor, deren pharmazeutische Wirksamkeit wissenschaftlich bestätigt ist.<sup>34</sup> Extrem seltene, eher magisch angehauchte Substanzen, aber auch alltägliche wie Wein, konnten spezifiziert werden, z. B. mit einer Herkunftsangabe. Damit wurde suggeriert, dass nur diese spezielle Art der benötigten Zutat die erwünschte Wirkung herbeiführt.<sup>35</sup>

Es fanden in der griechisch-römischen Antike jedoch auch eher grotesk anmutende „magische“ Zutaten Verwendung: Ein weitverbreitetes Rezept gegen Epilepsie war etwa das Trinken von Gladiatorenblut, das selbst lange nachdem der letzte Gladiator in der Arena gestorben war, noch empfohlen wurde.<sup>36</sup> Plinius zufolge sollte ein Gecko, der in Öl verrottet ist, gegen Skorpionstiche helfen.<sup>37</sup> Mittel gegen Empfängnis, die im 2. oder 3. Jh. n. Chr. aufgeschrieben wurden, lauten folgendermaßen (PGM LXIII,25-29; 2-3. Jh.):

25 Ἀσόνλημκτον ἄρας κράμον  
ἔχ[ο]ντα θηράφιον περιάπτε.  
Ἀσόνλημκτον· λαβὸν κάρ-  
μ[ι]ον τετρ[ι]μ[έ]νον ἔνδησον εἰς  
θ[έ]ρ[μ]μα ἡμῶνυ και περιάπτε.

128-130.

31 Jördens, Texte, 335.

32 Römer, Einleitung, 1.

33 De Haro Sanchez, Magie, 1. Liste mit Gleichsetzungen magischer Codenamen und ihrer wahren Bedeutung: PGM XII,409-445 (2.-4. Jh.).

34 Draycot, Healing, 41; LiDonnici, Ingredients, 359, 362-365.

35 LiDonnici, Ingredients, 362-365.

36 Nutton, Medicine, 8.

37 Plin. HN XXX.35: *Scorpionibus contrarius maxime invicem stello traditur, ut visu quoque pavorem illi adferat et torporum fragilis sudoris itaque in oleo putrefacit eum et ita vulnera perungunt quodum oleo illo unguentum artemicum decernunt ad emplastrum genus atque ita intinunt. Hunc Graeci colosen vocant et ascalaboten et galosten, in Italia non nascitur.*



Gegen Empfängnis. Nimm eine Bohne, die einen Wurm hat, und hänge sie um.

Gegen Empfängnis. Nimm eine durchbohrte Bohne und bind sie in Maultierleder und häng es um.<sup>38</sup>

Weniger grotesk mutet es an, dass im Kontext der Magie bzw. Medizin das Spucken und der Speichel eine enorme Bedeutung hatten.<sup>39</sup> Offenbar hatten die antiken Menschen die im Speichel tatsächlich enthaltenen antibakteriellen und wundheilenden Stoffe bemerkt – so wie oft Erfahrungselemente Eingang in sogenannte magische Heilmethoden fanden.<sup>40</sup> Die Anwendung von Speichel als Heilserum wurde demzufolge von ägyptischer bis in arabische Zeit praktiziert, wobei mit dem Aufkommen des Christentums eine direkte Verbindung zu Wundern Jesu gezogen wurde, bei denen er mit Hilfe seines Speichels Heilung bewirkte.<sup>41</sup> Ein typisch ägyptisches Heilmittel, das den Griechen und Römern aus ihrer Heimat unbekannt war, ist die altägyptische Droge *kypht*, die aus bis zu 36 pharmazeutisch aktiven Substanzen zusammengesetzt sein konnte und die bis in die Spätantike hinein Verbesserungen erfuhr.<sup>42</sup> Dabei war sicher hilfreich, dass Ägypten einen größeren Reichtum an medizinisch verwendbaren Stoffen aufzuweisen hatte als Griechenland und Italien.<sup>43</sup>

Allgemein erfreuten sich auch Amulette gegen verschiedene Arten von Leiden großer Beliebtheit, und zwar sowohl als vorsorglicher Schutz als auch zur Vertreibung eines bereits eingetretenen Übels, häufig in Form eines Papyrusstückchens, auf dem ein abwehrender Spruch zu lesen war und das gefaltet oder gerollt am Körper getragen werden konnte, z. B. an einem Faden um den Hals gebunden oder in einer Kapsel verwahrt. Auf diese körperliche Verbundenheit mit dem Amulett weisen auch die griechischen Begriffe *periptapton* und *periamata*, „das Umgehängte“, hin, während das Synonym *phylakterion* die Schutzfunktion betont. Wer an einem chronischen Leiden wie Malaria oder Epilepsie litt, wird sein Amulett dauerhaft bei sich getragen haben. Aber selbst wenn ein einmaliges Leiden vorbei war, wird ein Träger sein Amulett nicht einfach entsorgt haben, sondern es weiterhin als Talisman bei sich getragen oder eventuell sogar in einen Tempel geweiht haben.<sup>44</sup>

Außer Papyrus- oder Pergamentamuletten sollten auch gravierte Gemmen Schutz vor oder Heilung von einer Krankheit bieten.<sup>45</sup> Dabei wurde bei der Wahl des

Materials der Zweck berücksichtigt, also die Krankheit, gegen welche das Amulett wirken sollte. Papyri wurden vermehrt zur Heilung von Fieber und Kopfweh gewählt, Gemmen zur Bekämpfung von Problemen des Magen-Darm-Trakts und von Schmerzen in Rücken und Gliedmaßen.<sup>46</sup> Gelbfarbene Gemmen aus Jaspis, besonders mit eingravierter Darstellung eines Skorpions und eventuell magischen Worten, sollten z.B. gegen Skorpionstiche helfen, vermutlich insbesondere gegen solche des gelben Skorpions.<sup>47</sup> Magnetische Steine auch ohne Gravar wurden besonders als Amulette gegen Gebärmutterblutungen und ähnliche Leiden verwendet, da angenommen wurde, dass ihnen eine magische Kraft innewohnt.<sup>48</sup> Sie sind ein Beispiel für unbeschriftete Amulette. Zu den beschriebenen Amuletten, die Gesundheit beschützen sollten, zählen daneben auch *lamellae*, Gold- und Silberfädelchen, die jedoch auf Grund ihres wertvollen Materials nur selten bis heute überlebt haben.<sup>49</sup> Ein Papyrusamulett, auf dem um Schutz vor Krankheit gebeten wird, konnte folgendermaßen lauten (PGM 5c,3-4; 5-6. Jh.):

3 ὀνάξον τὴν δούλην σου  
4 ἀπὸ πάσης νόσου σώματος αὐτῆς καὶ λυρῶσεως αὐτὴν ἀπὸ πάσης  
ἀρρωστίας  
τῆς περὶ ψυχῆς αὐτῆς(ῆς)

bewahre deine Dienerin [vor jeder Krankheit] ihres [Leibes], und erlösen wirst du sie von jeder Krankheit ihrer Seele<sup>50</sup>

Deutlicher magisch angehauchte Mittel kamen eher im Bereich innerer Leiden zur Anwendung, weil der Grund für sie meist unbekannt blieb.<sup>51</sup> Dies galt auch für Fieber, weswegen Papyrusamulette dagegen zahlreich zum Einsatz kamen, wobei ihre Häufigkeit auf ein ebenso weit verbreitetes Leiden hindeutet.<sup>52</sup> Bei ihnen versuchte man möglichst alle denkbaren Fieberarten zu benennen, um Schutz vor allen Eventualitäten zu bekommen.<sup>53</sup> Die dabei aufgezählten Varianten an Wechselstieber sind vermutlich Malariaarten.<sup>54</sup> Ein Beispiel dafür bietet PGM XXXIII,19-23 (3. Jh.):

106, bes. 74-81, 85f. P. Vitelluzzi, *Gemme e Magia dalle collezioni del Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria*, Perugia 2010, 98-108; C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*, University of Michigan Studies Humanistic Series 49, Ann Arbor 1950, 51-94. Taf. V-VII. A. Mastrocinque, *Le Gemme Gnostiche*, in: A. Mastrocinque, *Sylloge Gemmarum Gnosticarum*, *Bollettino di Numismatica Monografia* 8.2.1, Rom 2003, 59-63. Michel, *Magische Gemmen*, 146-202.

46 Michel, *Magische Gemmen*, 230f. Smith, *Relations*, 134.

47 Im Gegensatz zu dem weniger gefährlichen schwarzen Skorpion. Fanone, *Text*, 55.

48 Scarborough, *Pharmacology*, 159.

49 Kotansky, *Incantations*, 110. 113f.

50 Übersetzung aus PGM.

51 Rothschild, *Iatromagie*, 32. Draycott, *Healing*, 77.

52 P. Köln X, 226. Kotansky, *Incantations*, 118. Jördens, *Texte*, 346. Draycott, *Healing*, 81. 98.

53 Wilcock, *Ägypten*, 426.

54 Draycott, *Healing*, 73. Jördens, *Texte*, 346.

38 Übersetzung aus PGM.

39 Ömerfon, *Formeln*, 177.

40 Rothschild, *Iatromagie*, 31f.

41 Ritner, *Mechanics*, 90-92. Vakiloudi, *Illnesses*, 183. Draycott, *Healing*, 70.

42 Scarborough, *Pharmacology*, 160.

43 Meyer-Steinig, *Sudhoff*, *Medizin*, 79.

44 Kotansky, *Incantations*, 120.

45 Zu Iatromagischen Gemmen inkl. Abb.: Dusen, *Magie*. A.M. Nagy, *Daktylios Pharmakites*, *Magical Healing Gems and Rings in the Graeco-Roman World*, in: I. Coeprugi, Ch. Burnett, *Ritual Healing: Magic, Ritual and Medical Therapy from Antiquity until the Early Modern Period*, Florenz 2012, 71-

- 20 Ταῖα ἀπὸ παντὸς βίου, ἦν ἔτεκεν  
Ταρ[αυς, ἦ] τριταῖοι ἢ τεταρταῖοι ἢ καθη-  
μερινοῦ ἢ παρημερινοῦ ἢ νυκτοपुरε-  
τηοῖο

*Erlöse die Tats, Tochter der Tar[aus], von allem Fieberfrost, dreitägigem oder viertägigem oder täglichem oder zweitägigem oder nächtlichem.<sup>55</sup>*

An der kaum zu bestimmenden Schnittstelle zwischen Magie und Medizin bewegen sich die griechisch-ägyptischen *rhizotomoi*, „Wurzelschneider“, die sich hervorragend mit allerlei Heilkrütern auskannten und bei denen gleichzeitig Rituale eine große Rolle spielten,<sup>56</sup> was PGM IV,2967-3006 (4. Jh.) beweist:

- 2970 Παρ' Αἰγυπτίους ἀεὶ βοτάναι λαμβάνονται  
οὕτως: ὁ ριζοτόμος καθαίρει πρότερον τὸ  
ῥίζιον σῶμα, πρότερον νίτρον περιε-ρ>άνας καὶ  
τὴν βοτάνην θυμιάσας ρητήν ἐκ πέτυος,  
εἰς γ' περινεύσας τὸν τόπον, εἶτα κῆφι θυμιά-  
σας καὶ τὴν διὰ τοῦ γάλακτος σπονήν χρῆ-  
μενος μετ' εὐχῶν ἀνασπᾶ τὸ σπυδρὸν ἐξ ὀνόμα-  
τος ἐπακουόμενος τὸν δαίμονα, φ' ἡ βοτά-  
νη ἀνιέρσεται, πρὸς ἦν λαμβάνεται χρεῖαν,  
2975 παρακαλῶν ἐνεργετέραν γενέσθαι πρὸς αὐτήν.  
ἐπιλάθεις δ' αὐτῷ ἐπὶ πάσης βοτάνης κατ' ὄλον  
ἐν ἄρσει, ἦν λέγει, ἔσται ἥδω:

- ... ταῦτ' εἰπὼν  
τὴν μὲν τρυγηθεῖσαν πᾶσαν εἰς καθαρὸν ἐλίσσε-<  
ὀνόμιον (τῆς δὲ ρίζης <εἰς> τὸν τόπον ἐπὶ μὲν πυρροῦ  
κόκκου, τοὺς δὲ ἴσους κριθῆς μέλιτι δεύσαντες  
3005 ἐνέβαλον) καὶ τὴν ἀνασκαυθεῖσαν γῆν ἐρχώσας  
ἀπαλύσασται.

*Bei den Ägyptern werden (Zauber)pflanzen immer so gehoben. Der Wurzelgräber vollzieht zunächst die Reinigung der eigenen Person: zuerst besprengt er rings mit Natron und beräuchert die Pflanze mit Fichtenharz, wobei er es dreimal um den Platz herumträgt; dann räuchert er Kypri, gießt die Milchspende aus und zieht unter Gebeten das Gewächs aus, mit Nennung des Dämons, dem die Pflanze geweiht ist, und des Zwecks ihrer Hebung, und mit der Bitte, sie möge dafür wirksam werden. Die Anrufung aber, die er über*

55 Übersetzung aus PGM.

56 Scarborough, *Pharmacology*, 138. 157.

*jeder Pflanze ganz allgemein bei der Hebung spricht, ist für ihn die: „...“ Hat er das gesprochen, so wickelt er das geerntete Kraut in reines Linnen (an den Ort der Wurzel aber warfen <die Wurzelsucher> bisweilen 7 Weizen- und ebensoviele Gerstenkörner, die sie mit Honig befeuchtet haben), und hat er die aufgebundene Erde daraufgeschüttet, geht er von dannen.<sup>57</sup>*

Dass bei solchen Handlungen sogar Drohungen ausgesprochen wurden, zeigt eine andere Stelle (PGM IV,286-95; 4. Jh.):

- 290 χρὸ πρὸ ἡλίου. λόγος λεγόμενος  
„αἶρο σε, ἦ τι βοτάνη, χρεῖα πεντακάτω, ἐγὼ  
ὁ θεῖος, καὶ φέρο πορ' ἄματόν, ἵνα μοι ἐνεργήσης  
εἰς τὴν τινα χρεῖαν. ὀρκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ ἄμ-  
άντου ὀνόματος τοῦ θεοῦ· εἴην παρακούσης, ἢ σε  
τεκούσῃ γαῖα σε οὐκέτι βροχῆσεται πόσιτος· ἐν  
βίῳ πάλιν, ἐάν ἀπορηθῶ τῆσδε τῆς οἰκονομίας  
Zauberworte

τελέσαστέ μοι

- 295 τὴν τελευτὴν ἐπασιδῆν.“

*Gebrauche sie vor Sonnenaufgang. Das Gebet lautet: "Ich hebe dich, Pflanze NN, mit fünfgriger Hand, ich der NN, und bringe dich zu mir, auf dass du mir wirksam seist zu dem betr. Gebrauch. Ich beschwöre dich bei dem unbefleckten Namen des Gottes: wenn du nicht hörst, wird dich die Erde, die dich gebär, niemals wieder benetzen im Leben, falls ich mit dieser Zauberhandlung keinen Erfolg habe (ZW): führet mir die fehlerlose Beschwörung zum Ziel."<sup>58</sup>*

Dem Nebeneinander von wissenschaftlichen und magischen Anwendungen in der griechisch-römischen Heilkunde entspricht die Doppeldeutigkeit der griechischen Wörter *pharmakon*, das sowohl pflanzliches „(Heil-)Mittel“ als auch „Zauber-spruch“ bedeuten kann, und *katadeo*, „binden“, ein Verb, das sowohl für tatsächliche Verbände als auch für das Binden eines krankmachenden Dämons mittels eines Zauberspruches verwendet werden konnte.<sup>59</sup> Zu dieser sprachlichen Ambivalenz gesellte sich die bei fast jeder Therapie angewandte Kombination aus Handlung, egal ob magisch angehaucht oder nicht, und einem die Behandlung begleitenden (Zauber)spruch.<sup>60</sup> Dass diese im griechischen *epodai* genannten Zaubersprüche keine „un-

57 Übersetzung aus PGM.

58 Übersetzung aus PGM.

59 Weiterhin doppeldeutig gestaltet sich der Begriff *pharmakon* dadurch, dass die von ihm bezeichneten Mittel sowohl zerstörend als auch heilend eingesetzt werden können. Intensiv mit diesem Begriff beschäftigte sich W. Artelt, *Studien zur Geschichte der Begriffe „Heilmittel“ und „Gift“*. Urzeit – Homer – Corpus Hippocraticum, in: *Studien zur Geschichte der Medizin* 23, Leipzig 1937.

60 Furley, *Besprechung*, 85 Anm. 15. De Haro Sánchez, *Magie*, 1.

bedeutende Randerscheinung“ waren, sondern gleichwertig zu *pharmaka* und Chirurgie angesehen wurden, wird daran deutlich, dass sogar eine Autorität wie Galen ihnen Wirksamkeit zuschreibt.<sup>61</sup> Denn dass sie tatsächlich gesungen wurden, hatte eine beruhigende und somit heilende Wirkung, ebenso wie Beschwörungen und rituelle Handlungen.<sup>62</sup> Dass es dieses Bewusstsein, „dass Heilung nicht nur die Folge physischer Einwirkungen ist, sondern auch der psychischen Kräfte des Patienten und seiner Umgebung bedarf“,<sup>63</sup> bereits in der Antike gab, verdeutlicht eine Stelle bei dem Amuletten gegenüber eigentlich kritischen Soranus: Auf Grund ihrer psychischen Wirkung erlaubt er sie eben doch.<sup>64</sup> In diesem Sinn kann auch der bei magischen Behandlungen auftretende Placebo-Effekt interpretiert werden, da durch die Rituale die Selbstheilungskräfte des Körpers gestärkt werden.<sup>65</sup>

Die literarische Überlieferung bezeugt den Gebrauch von *epoda* im griechischen Kulturraum bereits für homerische Zeit. So versorgen die Begleiter des jungen Odysseus seine Wunde bei einem Jagdunfall nicht nur mit einem Verband, sondern auch mit einer *epode*.<sup>66</sup> Auf den magisch-medizinischen Papyri wurden teilweise zusätzlich die Handlungen notiert, welche gleichzeitig mit dem jeweiligen Zauberspruch ausgeführt werden sollten. Eine solche Anleitung konnte wie im Fall von BKT X 26 (4.-5. Jh.) selbst als Amulett verwendet werden:

† βιβίου βιβίου σση νοση  
 ἢ γροφῆ ἐκ πικτύκιον  
 κέ πρῶτιστε τοῦ φάσκον-  
 τι λέγον τοῦ δ(εῖνα) ἀνα(να)χόρη  
 ἐκ τοῦ πλάματος τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ.

5

61 Das berichtet Alexander Trallianos in einem Fragment, das Rufus von Ephesos überliefert (Fr. 89.23):

Ἐτι δὲ καὶ ὁ θεῖος Γαλιένος μὴδὲ νοσήσας εἶνα τὰς ἐπιπέδους, ἀε τοῦ αἰολοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῆς μακρῆς πειρᾶς, εὖτε μὲν ὄλεσε θύνασθαι σπῆρας. Furlley, Besprechung, 30f.

62 Kotansky, Incantations, 107 Anm. 2; Böhre, *Musie*, 13f; Furlley, Besprechung, 84 Anm. 13.

63 Staab, *Muslimische Amulette*, 204.

64 Sor., *Gynaeciorum Libri* III.42.3: „τὸν κερκῆτον, ὃς ἤμας οὐ προσήμεον. οὐδὲ ἀνοκολυτέον ἐξ τῆς καρδίης σου αὐτῶν· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴδὲ ἐξ εὐθείας παρέξει τὸ κερκῆτον, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπὶ ἑλατὸς εὐθυμώτερον τὴν κἀμύουσαν τάξη παρέξει.“

65 H. H. Figue, *Heilerpersönlichkeit und Heilungsberbereitschaft der Hilfesuchenden*, in: W. Scheffelin/bel J. Schuler, R. Pischel (Hrsg.), *Traditionelle Heilkundige. Ärztliche Persönlichkeiten im Vergleich der Kulturen und medizinischen Systeme. Beiträge und Nachträge zur 6. internationalen Fachkonferenz Ethnomedizin in Erlangen, 30.9.-3.10.1982, Curare Sonderband 5/1986, Braunschweig 1986, 387-398* setzt aus psychologischer und ethnologischer Perspektive „Magie, die auf die Beseitigung von Leiden und Krankheit zielt“ gar mit Psychotherapie gleich. Außerdem unterscheidet er zwischen Heilungsfähigkeit und Heilungsberbereitschaft, wovon der Heilzauber letztere aktiviert.

66 Hom., *Od.* IX 456-58: ἀναχόρη δ' Ὀδυσσεύς ἄμμιμον· ἀνέβουλο ἦσαν ἐπισπασμένους, ἐκποδῆ δ' ἔπειτα ἐλάσανθ' ἰσχυρῶν. Ausführlicher zu dieser Passage R. Renchan, *The Stanching of Odysseus' Blood*, *American Journal of Philology* 113, 1992, 1.4.

† *voces magicae*. Den (obigen) Text (schreib) auf ein Schreibtäfelchen und hängt es dem Leidenden um, während du ihm folgendes aufsagst: Zieh dich zurück von Gottes Geschöpf.

Die auf Papyri überlieferten Zaubersprüche aus römischer Zeit sind mit ihren oft nicht mehr als zehn Zeilen im Vergleich zu anderen, auch solchen aus modernen Kulturkreisen, sehr kurz. Dabei weisen die griechischen noch weniger Text auf als die demotischen, was jedoch für beide Sprachen nicht ausschließt, dass es auch längere Exemplare gab.<sup>67</sup>

Die Zauber und ihre Formeln aus römischer Zeit wurden von Alf Önerfors auf Grundlage der literarischen Überlieferung, besonders der *historia naturalis*, in folgende Kategorien eingeteilt.<sup>68</sup>

Die einfachste Form stellen die *incantamenta simplicia* dar, bei denen es ausreichte, den Namen des Kranken und sein Leiden zu nennen, die aber manchmal durch Anweisungen zu begleitenden Handlungen ergänzt werden konnten und sogar in der Veterinärmedizin Anwendung fanden.<sup>69</sup>

Die *evocatio morbi* diente dem Austreiben von Krankheiten, was auf der Vorstellung beruhte, dass Erkrankungen durch Dämonen hervorgerufen wurden. Dabei wurden die Dämonen oft mit Imperativen wie *ext(ite)* oder *fuge* – im Griechischen entsprechend *phuge* – zur Flucht aufgefordert.<sup>70</sup>

Anders wider dagegen in der *mina* eine Drohung gegen einen Dämon ausgesprochen.<sup>71</sup> Dabei konnte ebenfalls die *phuge*-Formel zur Anwendung kommen (PGM 5b,1-3; 5. Jh.):

† Φεύγει, πνεῦμα  
 μεστῆμένον  
 3 Χ(ριστ)ός σε διώκει.

† *Flieh, verhafter Geist, Christus verfolgt dich.*<sup>72</sup>

Bei der *transplantatio morbi* sollte ein Leiden auf ein Tier übertragen werden. Z. B. berichtet Marcellus, dass es möglich sei, Bauchschmerzen auf einen Hasen zu übertragen, indem Bauchhaare von ihm an den Bauch des Leidenden gebunden werden, woraufhin der Hase mit den Worten „Flieh, Häschen, flieh, und trag den Kolikschmerz mit dir weg“ freigelassen wird.<sup>73</sup>

67 Furlley, Besprechung, 91f. und Anm. 30.

68 Önerfors, *Formeln*, 171-191. Eine ähnliche Einteilung hatte bereits 100 Jahre zuvor schon R. Heim, *Incantamenta Magica Graeca Latina*, Leipzig 1892 vorgenommen.

69 Önerfors, *Formeln*, 171f. 194.

70 Önerfors, *Formeln*, 172-177.

71 Önerfors, *Formeln*, 177-181.

72 Übersetzung aus PGM.

73 Marcellus, *De Medicamentis* XXIX.35: *Filum quoque, quod ex lana vel pilla, quos de ventre laportis tuleris, solus purus et nitidus facies. Quod si ita ventri laborantis subligaveris, plurimum proderit, ut*

Sehr populär war die Similemagie, bei der Ähnlichkeiten jeglicher Art eine Rolle spielten, wie schon bei dem obigen Beispiel anhand der gewählten Haare und ihrer Positionierung deutlich wird. Plinius berichtet, dass jemandem, der unter 3- bzw. 4-Tages-Fieber litt, so oft ein bestimmtes Kraut umgewickelt werden sollte, wie lange die Fieberschübe andauerten.<sup>74</sup> Eine Unterart der Similemagie stellt die Chromoanalogie dar, bei der Farbhähnlichkeiten eine Rolle spielten, was bedeutet, dass gegen Gelbsucht gelbe Blätter und Blüten eingesetzt wurden, und zu der somit auch das oben erwähnte Beispiel gelber Gemmen als Schutz vor gelben Skorpionen zählt.<sup>75</sup> Die Morphoanalogie zielte auf Ähnlichkeiten in der Gestalt ab.<sup>76</sup>

Mit einem *adynaton* sollte eine Krankheit ferngehalten werden, indem eine Parallele zu einer nicht (mehr) durchführbaren Begebenheit gezogen wurde, weswegen *adynata* zu den Analogiezaubern zählen.<sup>77</sup>

Die *historiola* ist ein Analogiezauber, bei dem innerhalb eines Zauberspruchs eine Geschichte erzählt wird, oft ein mythologischer Präzedenzfall, der sich symbolisch auf den Zustand des Patienten übertragen lässt.<sup>78</sup> Indem dieses vergangene Ereignis durch das erneute Herausbesprechen aktualisiert wird, soll analog dazu das Gewünschte geschehen.<sup>79</sup> Diese Sprachart wurde seit pharaonischer Zeit angewandt.<sup>80</sup> Ein Beispiel bietet PGM XX,5-12 (1. Jh. v. Chr.):

- 5 6-8 Buchst. Ιαϛ Σόρας <Γ>αδάρηνης [ἐπασσῆ] πρὸς πᾶν κατὰσκαμ[α].  
6-8 Buchst. μῆστουδός; κατακαθῆθη ὕψιστάτη ὅ' ἐν ὄρει κατακαθῆθη] ἐπὶ λύσι[σ]ων κρήνας, ἐπ' ἄρ[ισ]των], ἐπὶ λέοντων. ἐπὶ δὲ παρθενικὰ κυ[α]ίνωπιδος ἦρ<υ>σαν [ἔδωρ κἀπ[ι]σι κουνέας κοί ἔσβουαν ἀκ[ά]ματον πῦρ.
- 10

*subiata lana leporem vivum dimittis et decas ei, dum dimittis eum: Fuge, fuge lepuscule, et tecum aufer ovis dolorem.* Önnertfors, Formeln, 181-183.

74 Plin. HN XXII,61: *Magi heliotropum in quartanis quater, in tertianis ter adligari iubent ab ipso aegro precarique eum soluturum se noxas liberatam et sacre non exempta herba.* Önnertfors, Formeln, 175.

75 Önnertfors, Formeln, 183-187.

76 Rothschuh, der iatromagische Anwendungen über einen Zeitraum von 2000 Jahren untersucht, gibt als weitere Untergruppen die Organohomodynamie, Dynastroanalogie und Ergoanalogie an. Der Similemagie, die in seiner Systematik eine der beiden Hauptgruppen iatromagischen Verhaltens ist, stellt er die Singularitätsmagie gegenüber, deren Wirkung in der Außergewöhnlichkeit der verwendeten Heilmittel lag (Rothschuh, Iatromagie, 13-15, 18-30).

77 Mark. 10,25. Önnertfors, Formeln, 187-189.

78 Önnertfors, Formeln, 190f. Furley, Besprechung, 92. Frankfurter, Spells, 80.

79 Maltoni, *Cristo*, 152.

80 Frankfurter, Spells, 80f.

*Besprechung der Syrerin [Name] aus Gadara gegen jede Art von Verbrennung. ... von Mysten geriet in Brand, auf dem Bergesgipfel geriet [es] in Brand. (Lücke im Sinn) Sieben Quellen der Wölfe, sieben der Bären, sieben der Löwen. Doch sieben dunkelglühige Jungfrauen schöpfen Wasser mit dunkel-farbigem Krügen und löschten das unerträgliche Feuer.*<sup>81</sup>

In diesem Fall ist noch etwas für antike Zaubersprüche Typisches erkennbar, nämlich Krankheiten als physische Objekte zu konkretisieren, z. B. Schmerzen als wilde Tiere bzw. hier das Kopfweh als Feuer.<sup>82</sup> Oft findet sich auch der Fall, dass ein Leiden ins Meer verbannt wird.<sup>83</sup> Bei der Kombination aus Spruch und Handlung konnte nach dem Verlesen des Spruchs der Schriftträger oder etwas anderes, das die Krankheit symbolisierte, ins Meer geworfen werden; genauso wie *defixiones* in der Erde vergraben wurden. Eine Methode, die Roths Schuh *deletio morbi* nennt.<sup>84</sup>

Neben ganzen Zaubersprüchen wurden gegen Krankheiten auch einzelne Zaubersprüche eingesetzt, die *vores magicae*, die sich teils nicht von Dämonennamen unterscheiden lassen.<sup>85</sup> Zu den häufigeren dieser Worte zählen *abrusax*, *akramachamari*, *ablanathanalba* und *zeuggenbarpharagges*.<sup>86</sup>

Das zuletzt genannte Zauberswort ist u. a. auf einem Onyx aus dem 3. oder 4. Jh. n. Chr. eingeritzt, der gegen Fieber wirken sollte.<sup>87</sup> Die Wahl des Amulettmaterials lässt sich damit erklären, dass manchen Steinen heilende Wirkung zugeschrieben wurde.<sup>88</sup> Pulverisierter Hämatit wurde in Flüssigkeit gelöst als Medizin eingenommen, und angeblich kurierte z. B. der Antichates alle regelmäßig wiederkehrenden Krankheiten, wenn er verbrannt und der dabei entstehende Rauch inhaled wurde.<sup>89</sup> Diese Methode könnte eventuell die relativ geringe Menge an erhaltenen Exemplaren erklären.<sup>90</sup>

*Vores magicae* konnten in Form eines Schwindeschemas geschrieben werden, eine beliebige Möglichkeit, um etwas Unangenehmes wie eine Krankheit loszuwerden. Dabei wird ein magisches Wort in Form eines Dreiecks mehrmals aufge-

81 Übersetzung aus PGM.

82 Furley, Besprechung, 92f. 95.

83 Furley, Besprechung, 96.

84 Rothschuh, Iatromagie, 23.

85 Vgl. nur die Auflistung von *ablanathanalba* im unierten Index der PGM unter „Zauberwort“, im Index des Suppl. Mag. dagegen unter „Gods, Daemons, Angels, Mythological Names, and Names from the Old and New Testament“.

86 Für Belege s. die Indices der PGM und des Suppl. Mag.

87 Neud. durch Geissen, Amulett, 223 227.

88 Für verschiedene Steinarten und ihre Wirkung als Amulett siehe Eckstein – Wasziak, Amulett, Sp. 403.

89 Dessen, *Magie*, 71f. Sokrates und Dionysios, *κατὰ λόγον* (in: Mesk, Tractat, 321): οὗτος ὁ λίθος τριπλοῦν τε καὶ τετραπλοῦν καὶ πέντε ἑξαπλοῦν καὶ ἑπτὰπλοῦν νόσου ἴσταν γίνεται δὲ οὗτος; τρίγας, ἑπταθμία εἰς ἀσπίδος ἐπιθήσεται; εἰς ἐπὶ κήρυκος, οὐκ ἔστιν δὲ λειπὸν θουαίτια, εἰς ἂν ἐπὶ πλείους ἄρας μετὰς ἐλασθηθὶ διὰ τὴν αὐθιγίαν.

90 Geissen, Amulett, 227.

schrieben, wobei es in jeder Zeile um einen Buchstaben verkürzt wird, bis es vollkommen verschwunden ist. Auf diese Weise wird der Wunsch nach dem schwindenden Übel mit einer Art Analogiezauber verbildlicht. Das auf solcherlei Art aufgeschriebene Zauberwort entsteht nun ein weiteres Mal, indem man die Endbuchstaben jeder Zeile von unten nach oben liest. Allerdings nicht, wenn alternativ, um das Schema zu verkürzen, in jeder Zeile sowohl der Anfangs- als auch der Endbuchstabe weggelassen wird. Ein mit einem Schwindeschema beschriftetes Stückchen Papyrus ließ sich gefaltet gut als Amulett mitführen.<sup>91</sup>

Swindeschemata konnten sowohl in geflügelter Form (*pterygoideos*)

ABRASAX  
ABRASAX  
ABRAS  
ABRAS  
ABRA  
ABR  
AB  
A

als auch herzförmig (*kardiakos*) vorkommen:

ABRASAX  
ABRASAX  
ABRAS  
ABRAS  
ABRA  
ABR  
AB  
A

Im Fall des oben erwähnten Onyx ist die herzförmige Variante des Schwindeschemata gewählt. Angelo Geissen weist zwar darauf hin, dass in der Spätantike die Anschauung vorherrschte, dass Fieber am Herzen beginne, hält sich allerdings zurück, eine Verbindung herzustellen.<sup>92</sup>

Zusätzlich existierten bereits seit klassischer Zeit sechs *Ephesia grammata*, eine Sondergruppe Zauberwörter, deren Macht ebenfalls in ihrer Unverständlichkeit lag

91 Zu Schwindeschemata jüngst Ch. A. Farnone, *Vanishing Acts on Ancient Greek Amulets: From Oral Performance to Visual Design*, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplement* 15, London 2012.

92 Geissen, *Amulett*, 225.

und die in medizinischen Zaubersprüchen oft vorkamen.<sup>93</sup> Sie konnten, wie Plutarch berichtet, zur Austreibung von Dämonen dienen, indem der Besessene sie aufsagte.<sup>94</sup>

Eine Dämonenaustreibung, also eine Krankenheilung, ohne *Ephesia grammata* konnte, nachdem ein Gebet über dem Kopf des Besessenen gesprochen wurde, folgendermaßen ablaufen (PGM IV,1249-1255; 4. Jh.):

1250 ζ κλώνας έλαίας άρας τ(σ)ζ μών ξξ  
δησον σύραν και κραλάν, έν καθ' έν,  
τῷ δὲ ένί όέρε έξορκίζων. κρῖβε.  
επράχθη. έκβαλῶν περίεπιε τῷ  
όείνα φυλακτήριον, ό περι<v>τίθησιν ό κάμνον  
1255 μετῷ τῷ έκβαλῶσιν τόν δαίμονα, έπι  
κασσιτερίνου πετάλου ταύτα:

*Nimm 7 Ölzwige und binde 6 an Ende und Spitze, jeden für sich, mit dem einen übrigen aber schlage unter Beschwörung. Halt es geheim; es ist schon erprobt. Nach dem Austreiben hänge dem N N als Amulett, das der Leidende also nach dem Austreiben des Dämons umzieht, auf einem Zinnblättchen folgendes um...*<sup>95</sup>

Da sich die Vorstellung von Dämonen als Krankheitsursache in der Spätantike verstärkte, nahmen gleichzeitig die Exorzismen zu, die gegen eine ganze Reihe von Krankheiten angewandt wurden, vor allem auch dadurch, dass sich die Kirche bemühte, die Menschen von klassischen Arztbesuchen abzubringen.<sup>96</sup> Trotzdem änderte sich in der medizinischen Behandlung mit dem Aufkommen des Christentums zunächst nichts, sogar Chirurgen waren weiterhin hoch angesehen.<sup>97</sup> Doch in den Zauberpapyri schlägt sich die Veränderung in der Religion nieder; außer den heidnischen Göttern wurden jetzt auch die heilige Dreieinigkeit und Protagonisten der christlichen Religion angerufen, z. B. in PGM Sb,23-51 (5. Jh.):

† Χ(ριστ)έ, νίε και  
λόγε τοι θ(εο)ῶ τοῦ  
25 ζῶντος, ό ιασάμε-  
νος πάντων νόσων  
και πάντων μαλακίων,  
ΐσσοι και έπισκοπωαι  
και την δούλην σου

93 Österfors, *Formeln*, 161-163. Sie lauten *askion, kataskion, ix, tetra, daimnomenus und asion*.

94 Pht. *symp.* VII.5.4: εἴπαρ γάρ οἱ μέγιστος τοῦ δαιμονιζομένου κατέουσι τά ἑόσητα γράμματα πρὸς αὐτοῦς καταλεγειν και όνομαίναι.

95 Übersetzung aus PGM.

96 Vaktoulidi, *Illnesses*, 173-182. Edelstein, *Relation*, 219. *Faraoon, Magic and Medicine*, 139.

97 Baader, *Spezialärzte*, 232.

- 30 Ἰωαννίαν  
 ...  
 εὐχεσ-  
 θε προεβίαις τῆς  
 40 δεσποίνης ἡμῶν, τῆς  
 θεοτόκου, καὶ τῶν  
 ἐνδόξων ἀρχαγγέ-  
 λων καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐν-  
 δόξου ἀποστόλου καὶ  
 45 εὐαγγελιστοῦ καὶ θεο-  
 λόγου Ἰωάννου καὶ τοῦ  
 ἁγίου Σεργίου καὶ τοῦ  
 ἁγίου Φιλοξένου καὶ τοῦ  
 50 ἁγίου Βίκτωρος καὶ πάντων  
 τῶν ἁγίων

† *Christus, Sohn und Wort des lebendigen Gottes, der du heilst alle Krankheiten und alle Schwäche, heile du und beschütze auch deine Dienerin Johanna... Betet um die Fürbitte unserer Herrin, der Gottgebäuerin, und der preiswerten Erzengel und des heiligen und preiswerten Apostels und Evangelisten und Gottgelehrten Johannes und des hl. Serenus und des hl. Philoxenos und des hl. Viktor und des hl. Iustus und aller Heiligen.*<sup>98</sup>

Dazu passt, dass vom 4.-7. Jh. n. Chr. der Kult des Erzengels Michael als Krankenheiler, der aus jüdischen Vorstellungen entstand, weite Verbreitung fand und in dessen Kontext Inkubationen weiterhin praktiziert wurden.<sup>99</sup> Dies sogar, obwohl sich die christlichen Kirchenväter gegen jede Art von Amuletten und sonstigen angeblich heidnischen Praktiken aussprachen – mit mißligem Erfolg, wie spätere Zugeständnisse und Wiederholungen der Verbote belegen.<sup>100</sup> Ein neues Phänomen in frühbyzantinischer Zeit waren Pilgerreisen zu Stätten der Heiligenverehrung wie der der Heiligen Menas und Damian bei Alexandria, von denen man sich Heilung versprach. Dabei konnte im Falle des heiligen Symeon die rote Erde an seiner Pilgerstätte zur Heilung jeglicher Leiden verwendet werden, sowohl zur innerlichen als auch zur äußerlichen Anwendung, sowohl vor Ort als auch in der Ferne in Form einer gepressten Tonpille, auf der ein Bild der Pilgerstätte zu sehen war und die somit wie ein Amulett apotropäisch mitgeführt werden konnte, wie es auch bei mit ge-

98 Übersetzung aus PGM.

99 Rothland, *Michael*, 103f. 147.

100 Stanhli, *Christliche Amulette*, 190. Metzger, *Historical Studies*, 106f. Brashear, *Amulet*, 36. Barb, *Survival*, 106f. Viele Beispiele bei Eckstein – Waznisk, *Amulett*, Sp. 407f.

weitem Öl oder Wasser gefüllten Ampullen der Fall war.<sup>101</sup> Im Kontext der Heiligenverehrung ist auch die Anwendung von Berührungsreliquien zur Krankenheilung zu sehen. So ist P. Paramone 14 ein Brief, mit dem zusammen das Stück eines Gewandes verschickt wird, um aufgelegt eine Kranke von dem sie plagenden Dämon zu befreien.<sup>102</sup> Anhand dieser Praktiken lässt sich die in der Spätantike noch immer enge Verknüpfung von Medizin, Magie und Religion beobachten.

Die medizinische Versorgung blieb offenbar bis in die Spätantike hinein zufriedenstellend. Auch wenn sich Beschwerden über nicht rechtzeitig geschickte Medizin oder das Versagen von Ärzten häuften, war die Sterblichkeitsrate wahrscheinlich trotzdem geringer als in den 20er Jahren des letzten Jahrhunderts. Seit der arabischen Eroberung schien das Gesundheitswesen nicht mehr verfallen zu sein. Zwar wurde Galen noch immer übersetzt, aber echte medizinische Hilfe war ausschließlich in Kairo erhältlich.<sup>103</sup> Dass sich allerdings die Tradition, Amulette als Hilfe bei Krankheit und Schmerz zu verwenden, weit über die Antike hinaus hielt, zeigen nicht nur Stücke in koptischer Sprache aus dem 11. Jh. n. Chr.<sup>104</sup> Auch das bei I. Maaßen in diesem Band aufgeführte Beispiel gegen einen Skorpionstich aus dem frühen 20. Jh. und die ebenfalls modernen, arabischen Systematiken zum Gebrauch der Psalmen bei der Herstellung von Amuletten deuten auf eine Tradierung der in der Antike erkennbaren Verschmelzung von Medizin und Magie in Ägypten hin.<sup>105</sup>

101 Vikan, *Art, Medicine, and Magic*, 67-69. 72f. 85. Abb. 1. 2. Magnire, *Art and Holy Powers*, 199-201.

102 P. Paramone 14.6f. (6.-7. Jh.): "Ἐμαῖνον δὲ διὰ Θεωδοτῆ ἑδαμονίωσθ, καὶ λαβοῖσθα μικρὸν ἐκ τοῦ στερηρίου τοῦ προσήτορο εὐβία Σουουθίου ἔσταιμα διὰ Ἐπιμάχου, ἵνα τοῦτο βάλῃται ἀπὲρ."

103 Römer, *Einführung*, 2f.

104 Z.B. die Stücke Nr. 65, 73, 78, 82 und 85 in Buschhausen et al., *Lebenskreis*.

105 Schulz – Kolta, *Schlangen, Skorpione*. Judge, *Magical Use*, 349.

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